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# A SKETCH

OF

# THE HISTORY

GEN. THEOL. SEM.
OF THE
PROT. EPISC. CH.

OF THE

# CHURCH OF ENGLAND

TO

# THE REVOLUTION 1688.

BY

THOMAS VOWLER SHORT, B.D.

STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH;

AND RECTOR OF KINGS WORTHY, HANTS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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Bucer and Peter Martyr consulted. It differs little from the present. (b) Alterations between the Liturgy of 1549—1552.

746. Liturgy of Elizabeth, 1560; few alterations from that of the second of Edward VI. (b) Alterations 1552—1560.

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752. He aimed at arbitrary power, and preferred the principles of Romanism, because they are better suited to it than those of the church of England. His sentiments about the bill of exclusion.

753. The protestants had driven the Roman catholics into his arms; at his accession he promised to support the church of England; and he fancied that a party in the church would support his plans.

754. The first acts of James were arbitrary. A large revenue was settled upon him; he was blinded as to the real state of things, partly by the success with which his arms were crowned. His cruelty.

755. James's cruelty was his own. No one can entertain any great respect for the religious principles of so vicious a man.

756. In order to check the opposition of churchmen, James forbade preaching on controversial subjects, and threatened to

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758. James wishing to curb the church issues a declaration for liberty of conscience, which totally repealed all the penal laws. In this he invaded private property, though he disclaimed the right of doing so.

759. He attempts to form a parliament favourable to his views, by unwise means. He attempts to influence the judges most illegally. The dispensing power tried in the case of sir Edward Hales.

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762. James's view of the question. The university of Cambridge refuses a degree to a Roman catholic. The vice-chancellor ejected. A similarly illegal attempt is made at the charter-house.

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764. James not friendly to the power of Rome. The pope and his other friends recommend caution. The pope's nuncio received at Windsor, and consecrated at St. James's.

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778. He possessed no real religion while he was king, and opposed the church of Rome; received the banished protestants. He was very deceitful in his promises about the church of England. Dishonest and unwise.

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CHAP. XVIII. P. 369.

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802. Inutility of many oaths. General oaths sometimes useful. Frequency of oaths disgraceful to us.

803. The friends and supporters of the revolution suffered by it. Power given to William to grant incomes to some of the clergy; never used. The deprived bishops continue the succession of bishops among themselves.

804. The principles upon which they did this. They possessed a power which the civil authority could not take away, and which therefore they continued to exercise. Difference between their case and that of the Scotch bishops. Difficulty of praying for William and Mary.

805. The question of the propriety of the conduct of these bishops. The revolution is not to be justified on permanent principles, but is one of those cases which are not provided for in the Bible. The non-juring bishops are not to be blamed; their subsequent conduct created a schism, and is unjustifiable.

806. Toleration act passes. A commission granted for preparing alterations in the Liturgy, and reforming the discipline of the church; some of the members refuse to act. (a) The names of the commissioners.

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809. The temper of the lower house of convocation. Dr. Jane elected prolocutor; the causes of this; his speech. The dis-

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810. If alterations had been made, the non-jurors would have had more apparent reason for calling themselves the old church, and of charging the others with creating divisions. No good to be expected from a comprehension; yet all reasonable objections might as well be obviated.

811. The church of England was now established by law, as it stands at present; a summary of its history; it ceased to be Roman catholic under Henry VIII; it became protestant by law under Edward VI, but hardly fixed in the hearts of the people.

812. Under Mary Romanism was restored, but by no means with full power; she persecuted from principle, and her persecutions convinced the people of the evils of popery.

813. Elizabeth loved ceremonies, and hated puritanism; and by her severities united those who opposed either the government of the church or state.

814. These evils were augmented under James, and his weakness and impolicy strengthened his enemies.

815. Laud increased the tyranny of, and the opposition to, the star-chamber and ecclesiastical commission. The canons contributed to make the ruling part of the clergy disliked, and the exclusive conduct of Laud drove many more into the ranks of the enemies of the church.

816. At the restoration some power was given back to the bishops' courts; but the persecution which was exercised arose from the house of commons, and at last convinced the country of the necessity of toleration.

817. The church of England is an authorized and paid establishment, but not an exclusive one; and is bound to endeavour to benefit the country. Such an ecclesiastical society was instituted by Christianity, but has been modified by the law of the land.

818. Evils arising from the connexion between the church and state. Wrong appointments in the church. Worldly mindedness in the clergy. Destruction of spiritual government; and of ecclesiastical discipline.

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A

# SKETCH OF THE HISTORY

OF THE

# CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

## CHAPTER XI.

### INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

491. Reformation in England and Scotland compared; gradual in England: 492. and carried on in connexion with the government. 493. Rapid in Scotland, and resisted by the crown and the church: objects of cardinal Beaton; his persecution of Wishart; and, 494, own death: siege of St. Andrew's; the French and English take part in the contest; the plans of each: the congregation established: the use of the Common Prayer enjoined. 495. Arrival of Knox; his character; establishment of the reformation; the power by which it was established marked the character of it; its political independence, and difference from the church of England in this respect. 496. The fault of his principles. 497. General view of the reformation; opposition to government. 498. Preference to be given to the reformation in England.

§. 491. IT will hardly be possible to understand clearly the mutual bearings of the two churches, which are now amicably flourishing within the same island, and which have contributed much to the injury of each other, without taking a general view of the reformation as it had been carried on in

Scotland[a]. The events which there contributed to throw down the power of the church of Rome are so totally different from those which produced the same effect in England, that it was scarcely to be expected that the two nations should regard their church in the same light: and as the conduct of the mass of any people must in great measure depend on the ideas prevalent among them, we shall perhaps obtain the object which we have in view most easily, by examining the more striking features which distinguished the two reformations. The limits of this work preclude the idea of entering into any history of the reformation in Scotland; but a few pages may enable us to estimate the causes which produced that marked dissimilarity between these two events; and to account, in a certain degree, for the existence of prejudices and opinions fundamentally different from each other.

The seeds of the reformation must have been sown in every country where mankind had begun to reason for themselves, and where such abuses existed as could not fail to attract the notice of the most careless, and to excite the regret of all who wished well to religion. But the necessity of a total change in the whole system, the unsoundness of the very foundations on which the papal power was built, would have been discovered at very different pe-

[a] The reader is referred to Cook's History of the Reformation in Scotland, and Mc Crie's Life of Knox; more particular reference is hardly required concerning remarks so general as those which are here made.

riods by different individuals or different nations, and have given rise to very different opinions as to the methods by which the change was to be effected. All truths, and particularly moral truths, are likely to be disseminated to the greatest advantage when the process is slow, and when the several steps are gradually communicated to those most interested in their admission or rejection. In England, the class of reformers were numerous long before the time of Luther. It is not of consequence to the argument whether any of the light spread throughout Germany were borrowed from England; but most certainly the Bible was appealed to in England as the standard of opinion long before the dawn of the reformation in Germany[b]. The English reformers had advanced but few steps in the progress of the reformation; but those points were to a certain degree established long before they were to be brought forward as the basis of a new system. Nor was the knowledge necessary for preparing the minds of the people for the reformation confined to any small portion of society; it was generally diffused, and therefore partially admitted, by many who were not

[b] Without referring to the time of Wiclif and the prevalence of his opinions, which had never been eradicated from England, it may be remembered, that Warham, in 1510 and 1511, compelled many persons to recant opinions which are now universally admitted among protestants, and that several persons more were condemned to death. See Burnet. Instances of persons burnt before 1517 may be found in Fox, vol. ii; e. g. Sweeting and Brewster in 1511.

prepared to receive it entirely; and persons so affected are much more likely to use moderation in their proceedings, than those on whom the force of truth has suddenly broken in, and carried off perhaps some things which are valuable, as well as the errors which had been before received. The worst of systems which has been long established must possess some advantages, which it would be unwise to destroy unnecessarily; and the most perfect may require such a perfection in those who adopt it, as to render the use of it, if suddenly imposed, dangerous in the extreme. Every system of human affairs must require a constant change, and that government in church or state is best, which provides that the changes shall be moderated by prudence, and not received till their necessity is apparent. A wise and good government will endeavour to guide the opinions of its subjects, a bad one will try to resist them; but in human affairs, that nation may be deemed fortunate in which the government gradually follows the progress of the opinions of its more enlightened subjects.

§. 492. In England, it was not any wisdom in his plans of government which induced Henry VIII. to destroy the papal power, but the providence of God made the passions of the monarch take the same direction as the wishes of the more enlightened of his subjects. The friend of the reformation, the moderate Roman catholic, and the political patriot, who regarded not the interests of religion, all wished that the temporal authority of the pope should be

discarded, and the prospect of a divorce contributed to inspire the king with the same desire. The same parties beheld the excessive power and wealth of the clergy, and they wished therefore that this should be diminished; they had different objects in view, and possessed, perhaps, different opinions as to the method in which this alteration should take place; but their combined wishes coincided with the rapacity and avarice which made the king regardless of justice and of policy. The acts therefore of the government not only agreed with the wishes of the more enlightened members of society, but probably opened the eyes of many who were ready to observe these advantages when placed before them. Henry did not innovate so much as the reformers would have desired, but he outstepped the wishes of the Roman catholics. He could not be said to guide the opinions of the country, but the acts of the government lay between the extremes into which the parties which composed it would have fallen; and therefore the reformation, as far as it proceeded during the reign of Henry, tended not only to remedy actual abuses, but to render the opinions of the people better prepared for estimating or directing future amendments. It left the sincere and enlightened protestant exposed to persecution, but it had paved the way for real reformation, by destroying the only power which could have effectually resisted it; and by shewing the world, not only that reformation was required, but that it might be carried on beneficially. It made the

friends of reform cautious, and the opponents of it more moderate.

§. 493. The course of events which took place in Scotland were at total variance with these circumstances. Dr. Cook begins his History of the Reformation in Scotland (1528) with the martyrdom of Patric Hamilton, who had derived many of his opinions from Germany, and received them from men who had already proceeded to extremities in rejecting the Roman authority. The greatest caution was necessary on the part of one whose heart was bent on introducing the truths of the reformation into his native country, in consequence of the violence which even the appearance of favour towards the doctrines of the reformers excited among the clergy: but all his prudence and caution were rendered useless through the treachery with which he was assailed; and Campbell, who first insinuated himself into the confidence of Hamilton, and then betrayed him, not only disgusted the feelings of the community, but his own subsequent fate and that of Hamilton formed a striking contrast, and tended to fix in the minds of the nation a dislike to the persecuting, and a love for the suffering, portion into which the church was divided. Campbell having witnessed the burning of Hamilton was so conscience struck, that he died in a state of insanity or despair. This may be deemed the commencement of the reformation, and the effects of such a persecution rendered further severities more and more necessary, while the political circumstances of the

country prevented the possibility of carrying them on. They were renewed, however, after five years; and Forest, a Benedictine friar, was convicted of heresy by means equally disgraceful as those with which the condemnation of Hamilton had been connected; his private confessions to a priest formed the ground of his condemnation. The persecution was by no means confined to this victim; but the minds of the people were excited by this combination of cruelty and treachery; and in addition to the general causes which contributed to spread the reformation, the property of the church disposed the nobility to favour opinions, which held out the hopes of converting this superfluous wealth into a means of enriching themselves.

The crown, on the other hand, could not help regarding the church as the easiest means by which it might hope to control the aristocracy, and James V. supported the clergy with the view of emancipating himself from that thraldom in which he was held by his barons; and to conciliate the favour of the church, he suffered them to persecute the reformers, and intrusted most of the offices of the state to their administration. The power of the crown was in England enormous during this same period, for the power of the nobility had been previously reduced, and the king joined himself to the other branches of his subjects in attempting to destroy the exorbitant influence of the church; whereas in Scotland the king endeavoured to shelter his own weakness by calling in the aid of the clergy. This was the state

of things when cardinal Beaton became primate; and he entered on his office with the determination of rooting out heresy, and reestablishing the power of the pope; but his proceedings tended only to increase the number of those who became hostile in their feelings to the government. The death of the king and the intrigues of the cardinal had nearly thrown the whole authority of the kingdom into the hands of Beaton: but the manner in which Arran afterwards attached himself to him, and the severities which as regent and primate they were together enabled to inflict, united a much larger portion of the nation in hostility to the legal authority of the kingdom, than almost any other combination of circumstances could have effected. Many an enlightened and sincere Roman catholic might have been pleased with the progress of events in England, he might have hoped that his own religion would have been established, while the political pretensions of Rome were discarded. In Scotland he could have expected nothing favourable to it, but from the suppression of the whole power of the reformers. In England, the man who wished to free his country from papal influence would have joined himself to the king. In Scotland, this man could have entertained no hope of success, but in destroying the Roman catholic church, and reducing the power of the crown. In England, the higher members of the church were divided between reformers and anti-reformers, and their power was nearly balanced. The changes therefore which did take place in Eng-

land were effected by the councils of the government. In Scotland, the more exalted members of the church, whose opinions coincided with those of the reformation, could only be safe by throwing their whole influence into the hands of the party which was opposed to the crown. (1546.) It was not wonderful that cardinal Beaton should misunderstand the power which religion possessed in the country, or that he should hope to suppress it by severity; but it was extraordinary that he should so act as to throw the whole of the stigma on the church, and endanger a separation between that body and the authority of the crown; and the victim whom he selected, and his own dreadful fate, produced a very marked effect on the subsequent character of the reformation in Scotland. George Wishart was possessed of those qualities which peculiarly rendered him an object of pity: he was well born, had received a good education, (he had resided in Cambridge, and travelled into Germany,) while his personal qualifications corresponded with his literary acquirements, and he had begun to preach the gospel successfully at Dundee. His apprehension, too, was accompanied with a certain degree of treachery; for Bothwell, (the father,) when Wishart was surrendered into his hands, promised to answer for his safety, and his execution was accompanied with many irritating circumstances; it was carried on, not only without the concurrence of the civil power, but in opposition to the wishes of the regent Arran;

and the prelates who condemned him were themselves present when he died [a].

§. 494. All these circumstances contributed to create so strong a hatred against Beaton, that in a short time he was treacherously murdered in his own castle; and the conspirators, retaining possession of the fortress, commenced that open resistance to the government, with which the whole of the Scotch reformation was accompanied. The conspirators who defended St. Andrew's were the advocates of the reformation, and engaged in open hostility against the government of the country: the favour which was shewn them by Henry VIII. excited a corresponding exertion on the part of the friends of the papacy, and the castle was ultimately forced to surrender, in consequence of the assistance afforded by the French to the besiegers.

Here then was a new element of discord. The crown, the clergy, and the French, were arranged against the nobles, the reformers, and the English; and the connexion formed by the royal family with France, in consequence of introducing many Frenchmen into places of emolument and trust in Scotland, prevented the people or the nobility from being pleased with that connexion. It was the policy of France to reduce Scotland to a province, and

[a] Wishart had tied bags of gunpowder about him; and some persons are so sensitive concerning the honour of martyrs, as to question the Christian propriety of this. Surely it would be no imputation on the firmness of a man who was about to be beheaded, that he wished the axe to be sharpened.

to connect the reestablishment of the Roman catholic religion with this event. The policy of England was to marry Edward to Mary, and to form the whole island into one country: and notwithstanding the rough method of courtship which was exhibited at the battle of Pinky, (1547,) the money which was brought from England maintained a strong hold over the interests of many individuals among the Scotch nation, and the obvious advantage which would be derived to both countries from a closer intercourse contributed to give the preponderance to the side of the reformers.

In England, during the reign of Edward, the reformation was carried on chiefly by the government, which outstepped the opinions of the people. In Scotland, the feelings of the people were favourable to reformation, and the only hope of its final establishment was connected in their minds with the prospect of success entertained by those who must be viewed as rebels. The castle of St. Andrew's had been reduced, but the spirit and the feelings of the people could never be overcome, and from this time, to the establishment of the reformation in 1560, the mind of every reformer must have been more or less hostile to the government. The persecutions of Mary in England, to a certain degree, produced the same effect in Scotland as was caused by them in the southern part of our island; and while they alarmed the fears, they united the efforts and the wishes of all who favoured that cause which they were intended to overpower. The poli-

tical circumstances in which the regent was placed prevented her from using persecution; but the danger and fear of it at length embodied the reformers of Scotland in the Congregation, and induced them to frame and subscribe a deed of union, or bond of mutual support, for resisting the tyranny which might be exercised against the professors of the true religion (A. D. 1557, Dec. 3.) It is curious that one of the early resolutions of this body directs the use of the Common Prayer *, probably that of England; so that the book which from mismanagement became the abomination of every true son of the church of Scotland, had been originally regarded in a very different light, and perhaps contributed to forward the reformation among the ancestors of those who subsequently rejected it with so unnecessary indignity.

§. 495. Notwithstanding the strength which the protestant party had now acquired, the Roman catholic clergy were not wise enough to discern their true policy; and the cruelty which was exhibited in the execution of Mill, (1558.) an old minister of above eighty years of age, served but to excite the feelings of men, who could not fail soon to learn their power, and tended to consolidate a force which was sure to triumph in the end. It is probable, however, that the arrival of Knox gave a new turn to the proceedings of the reformers; and the comparison which is here instituted will be imperfect, unless something is said of this person, who held so

* Spotswood, p. 117.

conspicuous a place in the subsequent transactions of Scotland.

The natural impetuosity of his character, and the sufferings to which he had been exposed, prepared his mind for the great struggle in which he was soon to be engaged, but gave to his conduct the air of patriotic exertion in the cause of religious and civil freedom, rather than the appearance of Christian endurance in the defence of truth. The disturbances, and destruction of the monasteries, which took place at Perth, immediately after his preaching there, have cast an obloquy on the Scottish reformer, which he probably little deserves; but whatever portion of human policy there might have been in destroying the buildings in which the religious orders might again have assembled, and from whence there might subsequently have issued a fresh band of defenders of the church of Rome, this circumstance, and the consequences of it, gave the reformation here, as well as in England, an appearance of destruction, which must be deplored by every friend of sober Christianity. The dishonesty of the regent prevented the possibility of a quiet settlement of the question, and after mutual successes, and a variety of fortunes, the death of the queen dowager, and the interference of Elizabeth, paved the way for the settlement of the protestant religion in Scotland, by the parliament in 1560, and the publication of the Confession of Faith [a]. Whatever was here established, was gained from the crown and the clergy

[a] The Confession of Faith is printed in Calderwood's History

by the armed interference of the protestants; and though the population was convinced by force of argument, the concessions were obtained from the government by mere force of arms. During the whole of this contest, Knox had much influence in the civil as well as ecclesiastical transactions, and his exertions and success could not fail to give a marked character to his own opinions, and to those which were adopted by the church. He learnt "to bind "their kings with chains, and their nobles with "links of iron;" and seems to have introduced among his followers the idea, not only of the independence, but of the superiority of the church, over the lay government of the country;—a superiority nominally confined indeed to spirituals, but which might easily extend itself to the temporal concerns of the kingdom [b]. The Articles of the Church of England say, "General councils may not be gather-"ed together without the commandment and will "of princes;" in the act of the general assembly of Scotland, August 27, 1647, approving of the Confession of Faith set forth by the assembly of divines, this point is distinctly denied; "It being also free "to assemble together synodically, as well *pro re* "*nata*, as at the ordinary times, upon delegation

of the Church of Scotland p. 14.; the Form of Church Policy, in Spotswood's History, p. 152.

[b] It may be remarked, that in this particular the church of Scotland maintains a doctrine corresponding with that of the church of Rome. The position here taken from a document of a later date, was, I believe, always maintained by the church of Scotland.

" from the churches, by the intrinsecal power re-
" ceived from Christ." Occasions may arise, when it may become the duty of the minister of Christ to do many things contrary to the general line of his ordinary proceedings; but these circumstances create an exception, not a law; and it will be difficult to draw a line to mark our duty, if the possibility of such circumstances is to frame a general rule for our guidance.

§. 496. Of the sincerity and boldness of Knox there can exist little doubt. But the Christian wisdom and prudence of his method of proceeding may reasonably be called in question; and while we admire his virtues, we may avoid his faults, and examine the consequences of them. His harshness never convinced Mary, and the conduct of his successors failed in reforming James, while they certainly created in both these personages a great dislike to the religious principles which were supposed to sanction such conduct. There may be occasions when the preacher may be called on to animadvert on the conduct of his hearers in personal allusions; but men of that period must have differed much from the rest of their fellow creatures, if they were likely to be reformed by such addresses; and the clergy who adopted such a freedom must have been possessed of most extraordinary humility and self-command, if there were not great danger of their misusing such a license. Granting that Knox always kept in view " that he might gain the sinner to the Lord," we may well question the wisdom of the means which

he adopted for doing so. To institute a comparison between Cranmer and Knox would be an invidious as well as a difficult task; but while we thank God for the reformation which they each produced, we may remember that the meekness of the one was as effectual as the sternness of the other; that an unyielding stoicism is as much a worldly temper as a compliant facility; and that the character of a firm yet mild gentleman, is much nearer that of a Christian patriot, than the world will generally allow.

§. 497. In examining the reformation in Scotland as a whole, it is impossible to overlook its political tendencies. The changes which took place in England were moderate, because they were guided by the government. All that could be preserved in the constitution of the church remained, because the highest members of the clergy were employed in carrying on the alterations. In Scotland, the bishops were hostile to the cause of reformation; and the reformation which triumphed over the temporal authority of the country, and conquered by the sword of the flesh as well as by that of the Spirit, threw down bishops, from nearly the same reasons, as destroyed episcopacy in the reign of Charles I. The principle which supported the reformation in Scotland was a spirit of resistance to civil as much as religious tyranny; and though our gratitude is due to the great Disposer of events when he produces good out of evil, yet, under whatever name we may conceal it, rebellion is rebellion. He who argues in favour of resistance on the ground of the ulti-

mate necessity of it, reasons on principles which can hardly be denied: but before he can apply his doctrine to any particular case, it will be incumbent on him to prove that the evil in question admitted of no remedy short of the dereliction of a positive law of God. He must shew that the patient sufferings of Cranmer, and our other English reformers, did not as certainly produce the reformation in England, as Knox and his friends were the authors of that blessed event to their native country. He must shew that the one line of conduct was as much according to the will of God as the other. To plead the necessity of doing evil that good may come, is to destroy the belief in the providence of God: and it would probably prove much sounder historical reasoning, as well as sounder theology, if we were to attempt to discover how men who obey the spirit of the gospel triumph in their meekness, rather than to endeavour to demonstrate, that circumstances change the nature of God's laws: how Knox might have produced the reformation in Scotland by imitating Ridley or Hooper, rather than by joining in direct opposition to his sovereign: how in later days the covenanters and parliament might have brought Charles I. to reason, rather than have dethroned and murdered him. No one would wish to question the readiness of God to pardon those who err in their zeal for his service, or doubt his mercy in producing good effects, from the worst passions of mankind; but he permits those things which he does not approve, and he

may prosper that, in which the individual instruments are not working according to those laws which he has laid down.

§. 498. If these views of the question be correct, it follows that the temper with which the reformation in England was carried on was likely to lead to a more satisfactory settlement of religion than that in Scotland: that the instruments, being governed by more Christian principles, were more likely, humanly speaking, to frame a moderate and more Christian constitution of a church in our own country than in that of our northern neighbours: that too great a deference to the temporal power was more likely to form a sound Christian community, than that opposition to the government, which marked the events of Scotland. And I believe that a quiet examination of the real state of things at the accession of James would lead us to this conclusion. With the evils which have since grown up in England and Scotland, we have nothing now to do; but with this view of the subject we can hardly help concluding, that the alteration in the church which had taken place in England, was, with all its imperfections, a reformation: while that in Scotland bore a nearer resemblance to a revolution in the church. The temper of mind created by the one or the other in the breasts of the individual members of society must in some degree depend on the tendency of the change itself: and probably this predisposition to control the power of the crown by force, which was engendered by the reformation in

Scotland, contributed in a great degree to stamp its features on the events with which we shall presently be engaged; but it is only at the day of judgment that we shall learn how far these forcible exertions of Christians are approved by Him from whom the blessings of civil government are primarily derived. It is the office of the ministers of God to teach their brethren what God will approve, not what he may pardon; and it is the office of the historian to point out how God brings good out of evil, and to shew mankind how the evil might have been avoided, without relinquishing the prospect of good to which our earthly hopes are directed.

# CHAPTER XII.

## THE REIGN OF JAMES I. FROM 1603 TO 1625.

501. Impression in favour of James. 502. Millenary petition; objections of the puritans. 503. Proclamation for the conference at Hampton Court. 504. First day; Prayer Book. 505. Second day; Articles. 506. Confirmation; Articles. 507. Catechism; lessons from the Apocrypha. 508. Cross; surplice; ring; prophesyings. 509. Third day; conclusion of it. 510. Barlow's account of the conference. 511. Other accounts. 512. Convocation; new canons. 513. Parliament; state of parties. 514. Powder-plot. 515. Statutes against Roman catholics. 516. Oath of allegiance; treatment of Roman catholics. 517. College at Chelsea. 518. Heretics; persecution. 519. Book of Sports. 520. Synod of Dort. 521. James's letter about preaching. 522. Necessity of examining politics. 523. Character of James; tolerably wise, but very weak. 524. His high notions of prerogative in church and state. 525. The light of the reformation opened men's eyes about politics. 526. James could not tolerate this in either church or state. 527. Tolerant towards Roman catholics: the question of toleration ill understood.

§. 501. THE tranquil manner in which James succeeded to the throne enabled the most active politicians to turn their full attention to ecclesiastical matters. All men recognised the justice of his title, and hailed the prospect of his succession, although the general temper of the country, and the circumstance of the king's having been bred up in a church differing much from that of England, prevented the friends of the establishment from being entirely free from doubts, as to the result of his coming to the crown.

Dr. Neville, dean of Canterbury, was commissioned in the name of the archbishop and bishops to present their congratulations to his majesty in Scotland. The answer returned by James, that he would uphold the church of England as it was established by queen Elizabeth, together with the anxiety which he exhibited, to be informed on ecclesiastical subjects, and concerning the present state of the church, contributed to create in the minds of those who were interested in his future proceedings a strong impression in his favour.

§. 502. The circumstances which had tended to alarm the friends of episcopacy gave life to the exertions of the opposite party, and applications of various descriptions were made at court, to induce the king to examine and remove whatever offended the scruples of the weak, or the prejudices of the wilful.

With a view of advocating this cause, many petitions were prepared, and among the rest, one, which from the supposed number of ministers who subscribed it was called the Millenary, although the names never actually amounted to above seven hundred and fifty. This document, however, as it was not presented till after the conference at Hampton Court, and could not therefore influence the decisions there made, is chiefly valuable in presenting to us the most important points complained of by the puritan party. The chief topics on which it treats are*, 1. Objections to the church service. 2. Plu-

* Fuller, x. p. 22.

ralities, non-residence, and unpreaching ministers. 3. The better maintenance of the parochial clergy, which might be effected by restoring to them the greater part of ecclesiastical impropriations, and a sixth or seventh of all lay ones. 4. The redress of church discipline. The three last of these were points on which the governors of the church were equally eager, though their views, perhaps, did not coincide exactly with those of the reforming party, since they perceived difficulties which were not taken into due consideration in the sweeping complaints of the others. The king himself was fully alive to them, and it was by his direction that Whitgift* (June 30th) addressed a letter to his suffragans, enjoining them to make all due inquiries into the condition of their dioceses, with regard to the number of recusants, the state of the incumbents, and the value of the preferments. James wished for information, too, with respect to the Common Prayer, and though obviously favourable to the church of England, he was anxious to arrive at the truth, by hearing whatever might be advanced against it.

§. 503. It was with this view that he summoned certain divines to a conference at Hampton Court. He is accused by Rapin† of insincerity in holding out the prospect of a free discussion, on the points at issue between the church and nonconformists, which he never meant to realize; but if we are to judge by the public documents, no charge can be less founded. In

* Strype's Whitgift, ii. 470. † ii. 162.

the proclamation* under which this assembly was held, he twice declares his own perfect approbation of the doctrine and discipline as by law established, and his conviction that it was agreeable to the word of God and the forms of the primitive church; and that the object which he had in view was to reform such corruptions as had been introduced by time, as well as to furnish himself with information, in order that he might be able to judge of the enormities which were objected against the ecclesiastical government and the services. Much too is frequently said of the alarm experienced by the hierarchy at this period; but though they could not fail to be anxious at such a moment, they neither seem to have entertained any very violent fears, nor to have had any grounds for them. Whitgift, as he was bound, made every preparation for the approaching conference, and particularly consulted Hutton, archbishop of York, on several important points†. His answers were partially quoted at the conference, and it is not improbable that application was made to other divines for their assistance in the same manner.

§. 504. The establishment was represented by Whitgift archbishop of Canterbury, Bancroft bishop of London, T. Matthew of Durham, Bilson of Winchester, with five other bishops, together with ten divines, who were chiefly deans. The other party consisted of Reynolds, president of Corpus Christi college, and Dr. Sparkes from Oxford, and Knewstubbs and Chaderton from Cambridge.

* Strype's Whitgift, ii. 486. † Ibid. iii. 392, No. 44.

In the first day's conference (Jan. 14th) the church party alone were admitted, and the object to which the attention of the meeting seems to have been directed was to furnish his majesty with information on certain points connected with the question.

In the Prayer Book, it was pointed out that confirmation, as used in the church of England, affected not the fulness of the sacrament of baptism, which had been before administered: and was established on the authority of the apostles, and the custom of the primitive church. That the absolution was merely a declaration of God's pardon through Christ, pronounced by an authorized minister, and addressed, in its most general forms, to the whole congregation; but in the Visitation of the Sick, (where the expressions are applicable to an individual, and seem to presume a greater authority on the part of the minister,) that it was used in the case of those only who desired such consolation for the clearing and quieting of their conscience. That the use of private baptism* by women and laics was never admitted except in cases of necessity, according to the use of the primitive church; and that the words of the rubric were left general, as to this particular, in order that the sacrament might not be omitted on occasions where no minister was present. In each of these cases the decision of the meeting was, that it should be left to the discretion of the bishops, whether such words should not be inserted in the several rubrics as

* See §. 424, a.

would leave these points no longer doubtful; and it was agreed on all hands that some other coercion might be used to enforce ordinary ecclesiastical discipline, without having constant recourse to the severity of excommunication.

§. 505. (Jan. 16.) The proceedings of the second day become infinitely more interesting, inasmuch as they may be presumed to contain all the objections to the details of the church of England, in which a moderate nonconformist would then have desired alteration. Dr. Reynolds arranged what he had to bring forward under four heads: 1st, of doctrinal points; 2nd, of such things as pertained to the appointment of ministers; 3rd, to the remodeling of the Common Prayer; 4th, and to church government.

The particulars objected to in the Articles were, that the doctrine of final perseverance ought to be stated in a manner more consistently with that of predestination than it was in the XVIth and XVIIth articles; and it was argued, that this would be effected by inserting in the XVIth article, immediately following the words "after we have received the "Holy Ghost we may depart from grace," the qualification of this expression in some such terms as these, "yet not totally or finally;" and it was proposed that the Lambeth Articles should be introduced into the text of the Thirty-nine. These proposed alterations were not received with any favour, and the king, in conclusion, remarked, "Meantime I wish "that the doctrine of predestination may be ten-"derly handled, lest, on the one side, God's omnipo-"tency be questioned by impeaching the doctrine of

" his eternal predestination, or, on the other side, a " desperate presumption arreared by inferring the " necessary certainty of persisting in grace."

Unfortunately, during this part of the discussion, Bancroft suffered himself to be carried away by the violence of his temper, and attempted to put a stop to the whole proceeding; but the king reproved him with much dignity and propriety, and the argument was resumed.

§. 506. When the question of confirmation was brought forward, and the texts (Heb. vi. 2, Acts viii.) had been quoted, it was soon reduced into a more narrow compass by the concessions of the complainants, who objected not to the institution, but wished that the administering of the rite might no longer be confined to the bishops alone, since their extensive dioceses rendered them totally unable to examine the whole of the candidates properly. As no period could be assigned at which such a custom had been admitted in the church, the proposal was laid aside, and it was left to be subsequently decided whether the words, " an examination," should be introduced into the rubric before confirmation [a].

Again it was objected, that the XXIIIrd article allowed a layman to preach out of the congregation, because it asserted only, that it was not lawful for him to preach " in the congregation," unless he were

[a] See Bingham's Antiquities, vol. iv. p. 385. xii. ii. 3. who gives a considerable account of the custom of the early church on this particular, corresponding with the present practice of the church of England.

duly called. That the XXVth article called confirmation a corrupt following of the apostles. That in the XXXVIIth article, it was not enough to say "that the bishop of Rome had no authority in this "land," unless it were added, "that he ought not "to have any." But it was of course utterly useless to attempt to answer such unimportant cavils. When Dr. Reynolds wished that it might be inserted in the Articles, "that the intention of the minister is "not of the essence of the sacrament," the king objected, as about the Lambeth Articles, to the introduction of any more than was absolutely necessary into the body of the Articles: since every addition tended to encumber the book, and, by destroying its perspicuity, to obviate the very purpose for which they were framed.

§. 507. Some objections were then raised to the Catechism, because Dr. Noel's was deemed too long, and that in the Prayer Book too short: and upon the suggestion of the king, an intermediate step was adopted, of adding somewhat to the old. It is to this that we owe the explanation of the sacraments with which the present Church Catechism ends.

All parties agreed in wishing that the sabbath might be observed with greater propriety, and that a new translation of the Bible should be prepared.

There was some small discussion with regard to seditious and popish books, which arose from the permission which had been occasionally given for

their introduction, in order that they might be answered; but this question was soon dismissed, as being one of policy, rather than suited to theological inquiry.

The petition of Reynolds, that learned ministers might be appointed in every parish, was seconded by one from Bancroft, who requested that we might have a praying ministry; that the homilies might be read till a preaching ministry could be provided: and that *pulpits* might not be made *pasquils*, where every discontented fellow might traduce his superiors. These complaints serve to point out the state of the times, but were in their nature too general to admit of any definite remedy.

With regard to the Common Prayer, the custom of reading lessons taken from the Apocrypha was objected to; and the king, with great propriety and fairness, desired Dr. Reynolds to mark those chapters which were objectionable.

§. 508. The cross in baptism, and the questions proposed to the children, were complained of; but after the antiquity of the one, and the unexceptionable nature of the other, had been pointed out, and when it was shewn that the cross was not otherwise used than as a ceremony, Mr. Knewstubs seemed to doubt how far the church had authority to impose such a ceremony; and his majesty declined entering into the question, as to how far the subject is bound to obey, by quoting the parliamentary words, "Le roi "s'avisera."

The wearing the surplice, the words, "With my

"body I thee worship," and the use of the ring[a] in the marriage service, were also mentioned, as well as the churching of women; but the observations on these topics were shortly dismissed, on account of their being deemed, as they really are, frivolous objections.

The question, whether ecclesiastical censures should be imposed by laymen, was not entered into, since it had been previously settled by the king and the bishops; and when Reynolds proposed that certain provincial assemblies should be held for the purpose of conference, at which *prophesyings*, as they were formerly called, might be established, James, who had long smarted under presbyterian tyranny, broke forth into a lively description of the steps by which the reformers of Scotland had first triumphed over the bishops, and then over the crown, and ended by quoting his favourite apophthegm, "No bishop, "no king."

§. 509. (Jan. 18.) The meeting on the third day can hardly be called a conference. It was now that the bishops brought up their conclusions on certain points which had been previously referred to their consideration, and at the same time those questions which did not admit of an immediate decision were left for the examination of committees. His majesty

[a] The giving a ring as a marriage pledge is an old Roman custom. (Juv. vi. 27.)

"Conventum tamen, et pactum, et sponsalia nostra
"Tempestate paras; jamque a tonsore magistro
"Pecteris, et digito pignus fortasse dedisti.

was particularly eloquent in favour of oaths *ex officio*, and made a long speech to prove their utility and necessity. This topic so pleased the episcopal party, that the archbishop declared that the king spoke by the especial assistance of God's Spirit, and the bishop of London returned thanks to the Almighty for his goodness in setting such a prince over them—a line of compliment too well received by James himself, and unfortunately repeated by most of the courtiers who were present.

It was the observation of the king, that the scruples of the nonconformists were mere matters of weakness, and that if therefore they were honest and good men, they would be easily won to conformity, if not, that they were better out of the church than members of her ministry; and on two occasions he made use of very harsh expressions concerning them, threatening to "harry them out of the "land," in case they obeyed not, and adding, that if they conformed not, "they ought to be hanged." The preachers promised for themselves to perform all duty towards the bishops, and to join against the common enemy; but Mr. Chaderton made a petition in favour of certain ministers in Lancashire, that they might be allowed to omit the use of the surplice: to which his majesty kindly consented, as far as the bishop of London would allow him; for the bishops were justly afraid that if any connivance were shewn, excepting for a limited period, the effect would be to undo all the good which they had promised themselves from the conference. But when the same

request was again made for certain ministers in Suffolk, by Knewstubbs, the king answered the petitioner sharply, and animadverted with much reason on the ill conduct of men who preferred their own scruples to the unity of the church; who would run the risk of any difficulty which might arise, rather than give up a point which they had once advocated; and in whose disinclination to obey, their own personal vanity was more consulted than the good of the community. During the whole of the conference there is nothing more striking than the superiority of the king himself over both parties: he not only surpassed them in temper and fairness, but apparently in learning and knowledge of the subject: notwithstanding the insignificance of the objections raised, and in some cases their senseless futility, he heard them with patience: wherever there seemed any reason for alteration, he was ready to adopt it, and the bishops exhibited a great facility in assenting to his proposals. The only appearance of want of judgment consisted in the terms in which he threatened the nonconformists.

§. 510. The account of the conference which is here given is taken almost entirely from one published by Barlow dean of Chester, who, having assisted in the discussion, was deputed to write the history of it *, and probably aided in the task, by Whitgift. It is however so favourable to the episcopal party, that it has not failed to be attacked;

* Strype's Whitgift, ii. 492.

but as it was published in the year which followed the conference, and was not contradicted as to its contents, there seems no reason for doubting its correctness. What is said of the conference on the second day was examined and approved by many who were there present, and such original memoirs as have come down to us correspond with sufficient accuracy with what is here detailed [a].

§. 511. The only authentic document, of which I am aware, which seems to throw any discredit on this piece of history, is a letter from Mr. Galloway, a Scotch divine, who was present at the second day's conference, and who wrote to the ministers at Edinburgh. Concerning this letter Calderwood observes *, that this account is very unlike Barlow's: yet, after a minute and careful comparison of the conclusions here drawn up, with those of Bancroft's which are printed in Strype † [b], I am convinced

[a] See a letter from T. Matthew, bishop of Durham, to Hutton, archbishop of York, (Strype's Whitgift, iii. 402. No. 45.) Strype himself fully approves of it, and Fuller, who must have been a very good judge on the question, introduces it almost verbatim into his history. The original pamphlet is not rare in libraries, and has been reprinted in the Phœnix and in the Churchman's Remembrancer, No. iv.

[b] "*A note of such things as shall be reformed in the church.*

"1. The absolution shall be called, The Absolution or ge-
"neral remission of sins.

"2. The Confirmation shall be called, The Confirmation or
"neral further examination of Children's Faith.

* History of the Church of Scotland, fol. 474. † Whitgift, ii. 501.

that they furnish a strong confirmation of the account published by Barlow: neither Galloway nor

" 3. The Private Baptism, now by laymen or women, shall " be called, The Private Baptism by the Ministers only; and all " those questions in that Baptism, that insinuate it to be done " by women, taken away.

" 4. The Apocrypha, that hath some repugnancy to the " canonical scripture, shall not be read; and other places " chosen, which either are explanations of scripture, or suit " best for good life and manners.

" 5. The jurisdiction of the bishops shall be somewhat limited, " and to have either the dean and chapter, or some grave " minister assistant to them in ordination, suspension, degrada- " tion, &c. (See 122d Canon.)

" 6. The excommunication, as it is now used, shall be taken " away both in name and nature. And a writ out of the " chancery, to punish the contumacies, shall be framed.

" 7. The kingdom of Ireland, the borders of Scotland, and " all Wales, to be planted with schools and preachers as soon " as may be.

" 8. As many learned ministers, and maintenance for them, " to be provided in such places of England, where there is want, " as may be.

" 9. As few double-beneficed men and pluralities as may be; " and those that have double benefices to maintain preachers, " and to have their livings as near as may be one to the " other.

" 10. One uniform translation of the Bible to be made, and " only to be used in all the churches of England.

" 11. One Catechism to be made and used in all places.

" 12. The Articles of Religion to be explained and enlarged. And no man to teach or read against any of them.

" 13. A care had, to observe who do not receive the " communion once in the year: the ministers to certify the " bishops, the bishop the archbishops, the archbishops the " king.

" 14. An inhibition for popish books to be brought over:

Bancroft seem to make an accurate distinction between matters which were discussed, and recom-

" and if any come, to be delivered into their hands only that " are fit to have them.

" 15. The high commission to be reformed, and reduced to " higher causes and fewer persons; and those of more honour " and better qualities."

Calderwood's account of the matter is as follows. History of the Church of Scotland, p. 474.

" A conference was appointed to be holden at Hampton " Court the fourteenth of Januar, betwixt some bishops on the " one side, and ministers on the other. The good professors " in England were put in hope of a good beginning of reforma- " tion, and letters were sent by them to sundry parts of the " country, to take a survey of the ecclesiastical estate, and of " the grievous abuses of the court: but they were disappointed " of their expectation. Two or three were appointed of the " sincerer side, that were not sound, and only to spy or preva- " ricate. Sundry reports went of the conference, different " from that relation which is set forth in print by Barlow. I " have therefore set down here that relation, which Mr. Patric " Galloway sent from London to the presbytery of Edinburgh, " after it was revised by the king himself.

" Beloved brethren, after my very hearty commendations, " these presents are to shew you, that I received two of your " letters, one directed to his maj. and another to myself, for " the using thereof; the samine I read, [*sic in orig.*] closed, and " three days before the conference, delivered it unto his maj. " hands, and received it back again, after some short speeches " had upon a word of your letter, as *the gross corruptions of this* " *church;* which then was exponed, and I assured, that all cor- " ruptions dissonant from the word, or contrary thereto, should " be amended. The twelfth of Januar was the day of meeting, " at what time the bishops called upon by his maj. were " gravely desired, to advise upon all the corruptions of this

mended to the use of the clergy, without being authoritatively enforced, and those on which some

" church, in doctrine, ceremonies, and discipline; and as they " will answer to God in conscience, and to his maj. upon their " obedience, that they should return the third day after, which " was Saturday. They returned to his maj. and there apposed " as of before, it was answered, all was well. And when his " maj. in great fervency brought instances to the contrary; " they upon their knees with great earnestness craved, that " nothing should be altered, lest popish recusants, punished by " penal statutes for their disobedience; and the puritans pu- " nished by deprivation from calling and living for noncon- " formity, should say, they had just cause to insult upon them, " as men who had traveled to bind them to that, which by " their own mouths now was confessed to be erroneous. Al- " ways after five hours dispute had by his maj. against them, " and his maj. resolution for reformation intimated to them, " they were dismissed that day. Upon the sixteenth of Januar, " being Monday, the brethren were called to his maj. only five " of them being present, and with them two bishops, and six or " eight deans. Here his maj. craved to know of them, what " they desired to be reformed: but it was very loosely and " coldly answered. This day ended after four hours talking, " and Wednesday the eighteenth of Januar was appointed for " the meeting of both the parties. Whereas before, the parties " being called together, the heads were repeated which his " maj. would have reformed at this time; and so the whole " action ended. Sundry, as they favoured, gave out copies of " things here concluded: whereupon myself took occasion, as " I was an ear and eye witness, to set them down, and presented " them to his maj. who with his own hand mended some things, " and eeked other things which I had omitted. Which corrected " copy with his own hand I have, and of it have sent you herein " the just transumpt word by word—and this is the whole. At " my own returning, which, God willing, shall be shortly, ye " shall know more particularly the rest. So till then taking my " leave, I commit you to the protection of the most High, and

actual alteration was founded. Thus, for instance, both of them state as a point established, that in

" your labours to the powerful blessing of Christ. From Lon-
" don, this tenth of Febuar 1604.

" Your brother in the Lord to his uttermost,

" M. P. GALLOWAY.

" The cause of my delay to write, was my awaiting on his
" maj. leisure, to obtain that copy spoken of before, as it is, that
" so I might write, as it was allowed to stand, and to be per-
" formed."

" *A Note of such things as shall be reformed.*

" I. *Of Doctrine.*

" 1. That an uniform short and plain Catechism be made,
" to be used in all churches and parishes in this kingdom.
" There is already the doctrine of the sacraments added, in
" most clear and plain terms.

" 2. That a translation be made of the whole Bible, as con-
" sonant as can be to the original Hebrew and Greek; and this
" to be set out and printed without any marginal notes, and
" only to be used in all churches of England, in time of divine
" service.

" 3. That no popish nor traiterous books be suffered to be
" brought in this kingdom, and that straight order be taken,
" that if they come over, they be delivered or sold to none,
" either in country or universities, but to such only as may
" make good use thereof, for confutation of the adversaries.

" II. *Of the Service Book.*

" 1. That to the Absolution shall be added the word of pro-
" nouncing the remission of sins.

" 2. That to Confirmation shall be added the word of cate-
" chising, or examination of the children's faith.

" 3. That the private Baptism shall be called, the private
" Baptism by the ministers and curates only: and all these
" questions that insinuate women or private persons, to be
" altered accordingly.

ecclesiastical censures, particularly of ministers, the bishop should not proceed without the assistance of

" 4. That such Apocrypha, as have any repugnance to canonical scripture, shall be removed, and not read: and other places chosen for them which may serve better, either for explanation of scripture, or instruction in good life and manners: and specially the greatest part of such places as were given in writ.

" 5. The words of Marriage to be made more clear.

" 6. The cross in Baptism was never counted any part in Baptism, nor sign effective, but only significative.

" III. *Of Discipline.*

" 1. The bishops are admonished to judge no ministers, without the advice and assistance of some of the gravest deans and chaplains.

" 2. That none shall have power to excommunicate, but only their bishops in their dioceses, in the presence of these aforesaid; and only upon such weighty and great causes, to which they shall subscribe.

" 3. The civil excommunication now used, is declared to be a mere civil censure: and therefore the name of it is to be altered; and a writ out of the chancellary to punish the contumacy, shall be framed.

" 4. That all bishops, nominated to that effect, shall set down the matters, and manner of proceeding, to be followed hereafter in ecclesiastical courts; and modify their fees.

" 5. That the oath *ex officio* be rightly used, id est, only for great and public slanders.

" 6. That the bishops be careful to cause the ministers note, in every parish of their dioceses, the names of all recusants; as also the names of such as come to church and hear preaching, but refuse to communicate every year once; and to present the same to the bishop, and the bishop to the archbishop, and the archbishop to the king.

" 7. That the Sabbath be looked to, and better kept throughout all dioceses.

the dean and chapter, or some other grave ministers. The subject, according to Barlow, seems to have

" 8. That the high commission be rightly used, the causes to " be handled, and the manner of proceeding therein to be de- " clared; and that no person be nominated thereto, but such " as are men of honour and good quality.

" IV. *Of the Ministry.*

" 1. That the reading of ministers that are of age and not " scandalous, be provided for, and maintained by the person " preferred to preach in his room, according to the valor of the " living: and that the unlearned and scandalous be tried, and " removed from these places, and learned and qualified be " placed for them.

" 2. That as many ministers as may be had with convenient " maintenance for them, may be placed in such places, where " there is want of preaching, with all haste.

" 3. That learned and grave ministers be transported from " the parts, where the Gospel is settled and planted, to such " parts of the kingdom, where greatest ignorance is, and great- " est number of recusants are.

" 4. That ministers, beneficed men, make residence upon " their benefices, and feed their flocks with preaching every " sabbath day.

" 5. That pluralists and such as presently have double bene- " fices, make residence upon one of them; and that these their " benefices be as near other, as he may preach to the people of " both, their week about: and where they are further distant, " that he maintain therein a qualified preacher.

" V. *For Schools.*

" 1. That schools in cities, towns, and families, throughout " all this kingdom, be taught by none, but such as shall be tried " and approved to be sound and upright in religion: and for " that effect that the bishops, in every one of their dioceses, " take order with them, displacing the corrupted, and placing " honest and sufficient in their places.

been briefly mentioned by the king; and it is not improbable that a regulation so recommended should have been at once admitted as beneficial, wherever it could be adopted. It is indeed incorporated in the 122d canon, so that we may easily account for its insertion among the two sets of conclusions without impugning the accuracy of Barlow, who is less particular in his mention of it.

§. 512. In order to give effect to the decisions of the conference at Hampton Court*, the convocation, which was assembled together with the parliament, was directed to frame and incorporate a new body of canons. Little is known in detail of the history of their composition, excepting that they chiefly consist of a digest of old canons, to which some new ones were added. They are in number 141, and at the present day form the basis of ecclesiastical law, as far as the clergy are concerned; for as they were never ratified by act of parliament, though sanc-

"2. That orders be taken with universities, for trial of masters and fellows in colleges; and that none be suffered to have the cure of instructing the youth, but such as are approved for their soundness in religion; and that such as are suspected, or known to be otherways affected, be removed.

"3. That the kingdom of Ireland, the borders of England and Scotland, and all Wales, be planted with schools and preachers, as soon as may be.

"The ministers have been this long time past, and shall be in all time coming, urged to subscribe nothing but the three articles, which are both clear and reasonable."

(Then follow the three articles in the thirty-sixth Canon.)

* Fuller, x. 28.

tioned by the royal assent, they are in law held not to bind the laity *proprio vigore*, that is, not inasmuch as they decide, but only where they speak the language of the previous law. Many of them have been superseded by subsequent acts of parliament: and the hand of time, together with the change in customs, has rendered them so generally neglected as a code, that it is much to be wished that they were remodeled, and sanctioned by a legal enactment. The account of the translation of the Bible, and the alterations in the Prayer Book, will occupy a portion of distinct chapters on those subjects.

§. 513. In parliament*, the security of the revenues of the establishment was effectually guarded by an act, making all alienations of church property to the crown illegal; a measure which marked at once the weakness and the honesty of the king, who fearing his own facility, lest he should concede to his courtiers whatever they requested, deprived himself of the power of doing injustice. The parliament likewise renewed the severity of former statutes against Jesuits, seminary priests, and recusants.

These proceedings, inasmuch as they were highly favourable to the church of England, were proportionably displeasing to those parties in the kingdom who opposed that body. The puritans had hoped for much relief and favour from a presbyterian king, and they found that their new monarch was as fond of exercising his supremacy as his predecessor; that two proclamations had already issued

* Fuller, x. 27.

from the throne, to enforce the laws against the nonconformists; and that James himself had used expressions, with regard to his own intentions, which were far from being wise or moderate. The Roman catholics had looked on him as the son of Mary queen of Scots; their wishes for greater toleration had been converted into expectations; and they too now saw, that whatever the private sentiments of the king might be, the nation was about to relax none of the severities against them.

§. 514. It was the prevalence of these opinions which induced the framers of the powder-plot to enter into that most diabolical conspiracy for destroying the hopes and prospects of the protestant part of the community; a scheme not more remarkable for its atrocity, than for the little probability of its final success, even though the first step in this dreadful tragedy had prospered. It is well known that Catesby and Percy formed the plan of blowing up the king, lords, and commons, on their assembling in parliament on the 5th of November, 1605. For this purpose, they hired a cellar below the house, in which they concealed 36 barrels of gunpowder; but on the eve of its execution a discovery was made, by means of a letter sent to lord Monteagle*, probably from his sister Mrs. Abingdon[a]. The conspi-

[a] Welwood, Mem. p. 22, says, that the letter was a contrivance of James himself, who had been informed of the conspiracy by Henry IV. of France. He wished to exhibit a proof of his own sagacity in the discovery of the plot.

* Butler's Roman Cath. ii. 441. Nash's Worcestershire, i. 585.

rators fled from London, but were overtaken in arms in Staffordshire, and the ringleaders slain. Several others were subsequently taken and executed; and among the persons whose names were connected with the conspiracy are those of four individuals who belonged to the society of Jesus, Garnett, Oldcorn, Gerard, and Greenway; the last of these, on the discovery of the plot, fled beyond seas, a step which, in the opinion of the world, must have implicated him in the guilt of the treason, if the dreadful manner in which others were examined by means of torture, had not furnished a sufficient reason for any precautions which an innocent man might make to avoid so dreadful a species of trial. Gerard was tortured, but made his escape from the Tower. Oldcorn was executed for concealing Garnett, who shared the same fate. The criminality of this last prisoner has been called in question by members of his own church, and is pretty fully discussed by Butler*, in his history of the Roman catholics. His plea was, that all he knew of the conspiracy came from the private confession of the prisoners, which as a priest he was bound to conceal: but supposing this to be true, let it be remembered, on the other side, that this private confession to a priest, as well as the secrecy with which it is attended, is a human invention, not founded on any divine command, merely a tradition of men, and in this case diametrically opposed to the word of God and the spirit of the gospel. It seems probable that Garnett was criminally

* ii. 164, &c.

implicated with the conspirators, though there was little evidence to convict him before a jury of the present day. Although no one can fairly charge this treason on the Roman catholics as a body, yet that church, by sanctioning the absurd miracle of the straw[a], and canonizing the man who, whether guilty or not, suffered as a traitor, did all that was possible to implicate the innocent members of her communion in the guilt of this horrid transaction: nor should it be forgotten, that the promotion of the Roman catholics' cause was the ostensible motive on which the whole was founded and carried on. (A. D. 1606.) The effects of this transaction were disastrous in the extreme to all in England who held communion with the church of Rome. No great bigotry was requisite to exasperate the minds of men against a religion which was supposed to sanction such enormities; and the bills which were brought into parliament, in consequence of the supposed insecurity of the protestant government, strongly mark the exasperation which prevailed.

§. 515. By the first*, Roman catholics who attended their parish churches were obliged to receive the sacrament once in the year, or they might be convicted under a penalty of 20*l.* for the first year, 40*l.* for the second, and 60*l.* for the third. Recusants

[a] A picture of Garnett was pretended to be seen on a straw which had been sprinkled with his blood. It was for this miracle that he was canonized. (Fuller, x. 40.)

* Statutes of the Realm.

convict were to pay 20*l.* per month during their recusancy, provided the whole sum did not amount to more than two-thirds of their property, and the crown had the choice of demanding the 20*l.* per month or the two-thirds of their income. Bishops, or justices of the peace, might require Roman catholics to take the oath of allegiance, which, if they declined, they were liable to be imprisoned till the assizes; and if they continued in the same refusal, were subjected to the penalties of a præmunire. The act of reconciling any one to the see of Rome, or of being so reconciled, was declared to be treason: while to serve in a foreign army without taking the oath of allegiance, or having entered into a bond not to be reconciled to the pope, rendered all who were guilty of it felons in the eye of the law. Notwithstanding the severity of this, the disqualifications which the next act imposed must have been much more galling. Great rewards were offered for the discovery of recusants who harboured popish priests in their houses; and a penalty of 100*l.* was imposed on any recusant convict who appeared at court. They were under most circumstances forced to reside on their own property, and unless exercising a trade in London, prevented from coming within ten miles of the metropolis. They were disabled from being barristers or attorneys, physicians or apothecaries; from being officers of courts, or holding commissions in the army or navy: they could be advanced to no employment in the commonwealth, and were liable to all the legal disabilities of excommu-

nicated persons. They were subjected to large fines and disabilities in case they were married, or allowed their relations to be christened or buried, otherwise than according to the rites of the church of England. They were forbidden to send their children abroad for education, and none but protestants were licensed to teach in England: the children themselves could not inherit any property, till they had taken the oath of allegiance: a disqualification which extended to all those who were out of the country without license. So that in every respect the Roman catholics were treated as persons hostile to the government, and who could in no way be trusted. The only comfort is, that the severity of such laws must soon render them nugatory in practice.

§. 516. The intention of the government in imposing the oath of allegiance was undoubtedly wise and enlightened, yet the form * of words was so constructed that a conscientious Roman catholic, entertaining every opinion which his protestant monarch could require of him, might scruple to take it. He might sincerely detest the obnoxious doctrine, "that "princes excommunicated by the pope, may be de-"posed or murdered by their subjects;" yet he might still feel unwilling to call that heretical and impious which was the approved doctrine of the church, which he erroneously looked up to as the only church of Christ on earth. The oath, if fairly,

* Fuller, x. 42.

examined, seems as much calculated to alarm a weak and conscientious Roman catholic, and to prevent him from taking it, as to bind the honest papist, who objected not to it, and whose fidelity might have been secured by terms more general and less offensive. In all probability Paul V. aimed at this particular, when, without specifying the point of objection, he declared that a Roman catholic could not take the oath in question, without grievous wronging of God's honour. The church of Rome naturally disliked a declaration which, if true, must sap the foundations of her assumed temporal power; and the framers of the oath, by the words which they introduced, gave that body a handle which they might turn against any well disposed and scrupulous Roman catholic who took it. Many persons indeed who belonged to this communion seem originally to have done so; and when the first brief was issued which forbade it, the majority of them would not believe that it was genuine, till it was confirmed by a second; and after all, Blackwell *, arch-priest of England, not only took the oath, but persisted to his death in asserting the legality of his conduct, though in so doing he drew down on himself the vengeance of the apostolic chair, which was followed by his deprivation.

At the same time, the laws against Roman catholics were put in force with all the activity which zeal and terror could excite †; twenty-eight priests

* Butler, Rom. Cath. ii. 211. † Ibid. ii. 183.

and seven laymen were executed, and an hundred and twenty-eight priests banished; while the fines upon recusancy were levied with extraordinary severity. However greatly we may deplore such effects, we cannot be surprised at them; passion has always much more influence over mankind than reason; and the protestants, in their eagerness to punish their supposed enemies, comprehended every Roman catholic under the same ban, and drew the line of separation, not between the loyal and the traitorous, but exactly where it was the policy of the court of Rome to have it established, between those who did, and those who did not hold communion with her.

§. 517. The general quietness of this peaceful reign, however beneficial to the country, presents comparatively little for the pen of the historian. A monarch of James's character was much better suited to moderate the plans of others, than to put his own projects into execution; and the same facility of temper and easiness of compliance, which softened the asperity of those with whom he had to deal, rendered his own plans totally unsuccessful. One of these was the erection of a college at Chelsea *, for the promotion of controversial divinity. Its members were to form a corps prepared to defend the church of England against the assaults of the regular orders among the papal clergy; but the design lived not much beyond the completion of

* Fuller, x. 51.

the buildings, and was destroyed for want of funds and countenance. The establishment itself was little required; since if but a small portion of the higher situations in our cathedral churches were set apart to reward learned divines, the wants of the establishment in this respect would easily be supplied. James, with all his good intentions, was but a weak man, fond of meddling with all matters, and particularly vain of his theological acquirements, which were indeed considerable.

§. 518. When Conradus Vorstius was appointed to the divinity chair at Leyden*, the king, who had been displeased at some of his opinions which were unorthodox, not only answered them with his own pen, but applied to the government to deprive him of his professorship, a step in which the states were not at all inclined to shew as much obedience as his majesty expected. In England, the result of the same temper was far more injurious: Bartholomew Legate was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop of London, and burnt in Smithfield. The king himself had often reasoned with this man, and every species of kindness seems to have been shewn him, till the time of his final condemnation; but it was not until the experiment had been tried here, and in the case of Wightman at Litchfield, that James discovered this great truth, that, in matters of opinion, wherever error of judgment is punished rather than viciousness of life, severity tends more

* Fuller, x. 60.

to display to the eyes of the world the appearance of honest firmness on the part of the sufferer, than to convince mankind of his guilt; and the man whose tenets would be generally condemned, is by his voluntary submission to death, often converted into a martyr. For the future therefore it was determined not to execute heretics, but to allow them to waste out their lives in prison; a line of treatment dictated by the soundest policy. Had the enemies of Christianity pursued it from the first, they would have destroyed one of the most powerful engines by which our holy faith was spread. Had it been adopted by Mary, it is impossible to determine how much it might have retarded the reformation in England. But God, who was pleased to water his church with the blood of his martyrs, has hardly yet taught mankind that erroneous opinions can only be combated by truth, while ill conduct must be restrained by the strong arm of the law.

§. 519. (A. D. 1618.) A diversity of opinion had long been entertained by different members of the church with regard to the observance of the sabbath day[a]. The party most friendly to the puritans had been strenuous in their endeavours to check that laxity of amusements which had formerly pre-

[a] During the reign of Elizabeth all sorts of amusements had been entered into on the Sunday. (Strype's Annals, iii. 585.) On her reception at Kenilworth, 1575, "the lords and ladies "danced in the evening with lively agility." (Ibid. v. 202.) There were sports at the Paris garden; the lord mayor was presented to the queen; plays and interludes were acted. (Ibid. v. 211. 495.)

vailed throughout the country; and in their so doing, they possibly went beyond what the times would bear, and were occasionally guilty of some extravagancies. It was this circumstance probably which created an opposition on the part of those who did not coincide with them in ecclesiastical matters, and to this party the king joined himself. In his progress during the last year he had observed a disposition to interfere with the games of the common people in Lancashire, and consequently issued a proclamation in favour of liberty on the sabbath day, commonly called the "Book of Sports*," in which he sanctioned a much greater license of recreation than the habits of succeeding generations have allowed. Many of the most orthodox clergy disapproved † of what was here done, and were in considerable alarm lest the court should oblige them to publish this declaration: no such step however was taken generally [b].

§. 520. The king's attention was probably directed ‡ to another object which had much greater attractions for a person of his disposition. The differences of doctrine between the Calvinists and Arminians were, in the United Provinces, mixed up with much of political opinion; so that the Cal-

[b] It appears to have been enjoined in and about London. Abbot refused to allow of its being read at Croydon. Perhaps this appearance of opposition prevented James from pressing it any further. (See Wilson's Life of James, p. 709, and Welwood note. Complete History of England.)

* See §. 558, &c. † Fuller, x. 74, &c. ‡ Ibid. x. 77.

vinistic and ruling party was well pleased that the credit of their synod, held at Dort, should be strengthened by the presence of certain delegates from the church of England, whose sentiments, from the known bias in the mind of James, would probably coincide with their own. The persons selected by the king for this employment were, Carleton, bishop of Llandaff; Hall, afterwards bishop of Exeter, who was forced to return before the end of the session, from ill health; Davenant and Ward, both heads of colleges in Cambridge; Balcanquall, who represented the episcopal church of Scotland; and Goad, who was substituted for Hall. The treatment which these delegates received from the states was most honourable, and their presence contributed, in some degree, to calm the violence of party spirit; but as the Arminian advocates would not argue the question, because they were not allowed to do so in their own method, and were therefore condemned unheard, very little good was done on the subject, and hardly any other effect produced, save that its decisions gave one party in that country a handle for persecuting the other. The five heads of difference are *, 1st, on predestination and election; 2nd, the death of Christ, and the redemption obtained thereby; 3rd, on human corruption; 4th, on conversion to God, and the method of it; 5th, on the final perseverance of the saints. Whatever opinions the readers of this work may entertain on any of

* Sylloge Confessionum.

these abstruse topics, I am convinced that every Christian mind will agree that the decisions of this synod are far too peremptory, inasmuch as they define beyond what the revealed word of God has declared. Whoever will compare them with the corresponding articles of our church, will have abundant reason for admiring the cautious manner in which the same subjects are there laid down, and for approving the nearer approach to the spirit of the Bible, which her tenets exhibit as they are there publicly displayed[a].

§. 521. (A. D. 1622.) Towards the end of the reign*, the eagerness which the king felt for the Spanish match, induced him to shew much more favour towards the Roman catholics than the majority of his subjects approved. The connexion itself could not fail to be displeasing to the nation; but Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, well knew the disposition of the monarch with whom he had to

[a] No further account is given of this synod, because the subject is far too extensive for a note. The opinions of the author on the five points are printed in his sermons, preached formerly before the university; but the reader is advised to form his own judgment from no human standard. A brief account of the proceedings of this synod is given in Allport's Life of bishop Davenant, prefixed to Davenant on the Colossians, p. xii, &c. The best information on this history is to be found in Hale's Golden Remains. The proceedings of the synod were very disgraceful, and they are represented, perhaps, even worse than they were. Brant's History of the Reformation in Holland treats fully of it. What was here done, had, probably, a considerable effect in changing the opinions of the people of England, and introducing greater moderation.

* Fuller, x. 100.

treat, and was always esteemed sufficiently clever to have taken every advantage of this circumstance.

When James issued his directions to the justices of assize, to release all recusants confined on account of religion, the opinions of his protestant subjects were hostile to a step, which seemed to set at defiance the laws enacted against the church of Rome, and to free its members from those severities which the legislature had deemed necessary; but when the prince, and the most influential man in the kingdom, had become, as it were, connected with the political friends of the papacy, by throwing themselves into the arms of Spain, the alarm and irritation was rendered far more general. In consequence of this state of things, Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, addressed a letter to the king, in which he inveighs most strongly against toleration*: "By your act," says he, "you labour to set up that most damnable and he-"retical doctrine of the church of Rome, the whore "of Babylon:" and the feelings of the country soon exhibited themselves in the tone displayed in the sermons of the generality of preachers. Politics, together with the most abstruse points of theology, became the ordinary topics on which they dilated; and it was particularly observed, that at court the obedience of the subject was enforced, while the duty of the king was insisted on in the country.

Such were the causes which induced James to address a letter† to the archbishop, (Aug. 4,) accompanied with directions concerning preaching. He or-

* Fuller, x. 106. † Ibid. x. 108.

ders that no preachers besides bishops and deans, and they only on festivals and state holydays, should take occasion to run into any other discourses than such as may be fairly drawn from the Thirty-nine Articles or the Homilies; that their evening sermons shall dwell solely on the Catechism, and subjects connected with it; that abstruse points of divinity should be avoided; that the power of the prince should not be touched upon, nor any attacks made on papists or puritans; that great caution should be used in licensing preachers, particularly lecturers, who formed a new body in the church, and were, in a great degree, severed from the rest of the clergy; and that to these no licenses should be given but through the archbishop of Canterbury, on the recommendation of the bishop of the diocese. These directions, however, were composed in a strain far too high to answer the purpose for which they were intended. Had they been given as advice, the sound sense with which they are written might have influenced many[a]. Had the government from which

[a] Much of the advice of James contained great good sense. Early in this century, it had become the custom to put into the hands of young students in theology, some epitome, generally Calvin's Institutes, from which they drew their opinions. (Words. Ecc. Biog. v. 479, note.) King James observed the inconvenience, and prescribed a remedy, by sending instructions to the universities, bearing date Jan. 18th, 1616; wherein he directs them to bestow their time on the "fathers, councils, schoolmen, "histories, and controversies; and not to insist too long on "compendiums and abbreviators." (Ibid. v. 343, note.) So that they might begin at the fountain head, and search for primitive truth in the primitive writers.

they issued, been as strong as it was weak, they might have been quietly enforced, to the benefit of the congregations; as it was, they were attacked by the captious, and in some cases insisted on with an undue severity, which must have rendered them liable to objection, even in the minds of the well disposed.

§. 522. The policy of the state is so entirely mixed up with the history of the church, that it is almost impossible to understand the one, without examining the other: and the field is at the same time so wide, that the ecclesiastical historian incurs considerable danger in venturing to enter upon it: yet he can hardly render himself intelligible, unless he gives, at least, a general view of those portions of state politics which influenced ecclesiastical matters. This object will, perhaps, be obtained most effectually, if we try to examine into the character of the king, and to deduce our observations from his proceedings, as the influence of the court was felt in every part of the administration, and particularly in the church.

§. 523. James might perhaps have proved a good king, if his weakness as a man had not rendered it almost impossible for him to perform the duties of his station. For the observation, which is in some degree applicable to all, viz. That even in the common concerns of this life, "no weak man can prove "an honest one," is infinitely more true, when applied to those who are invested with supreme authority. That mental superiority on which James always presumed, and which, to a certain degree, he possessed,

induced him to endeavour to make himself the guide, and if I may use the expression, the state tutor of Europe; while his personal imbecility prevented him from being able to govern his own house. It was this weakness, probably, which made him so insincere with regard to his word; an evil which, when it has once begun, becomes the source of an infinitely greater degree of weakness, by preventing him who is guilty of it, from performing even the good resolutions which he has formed.

§. 524. His own opinions, with relation both to the state and to the church, were peculiar, and upheld with a pedantic semblance of firmness which made his concessions always appear like the effect of fear; while the display of these sentiments, on occasions where they were inopportunely introduced, often added to the suspicions which his subjects entertained as to the objects which he had in view. In politics, he had formed so high an idea of the regal prerogative, that in an answer to the parliament in 1610, he said*, "That as it was blasphemy "to dispute what God may do, so it is sedition, in "subjects, to dispute what a king may do in the "plenitude of his power." A monarch who had formed such a notion, could not help wishing to make himself absolute, however much he might desire to benefit his people by the exercise of his authority; and the party who in the state were adverse to these regal pretensions, were in church mat-

* Rapin, ii. 178.

ters opposed also to the arbitrary proceedings of the bishops' courts, and frequently to the whole system of church government; so that, in the mind of the king, and the general language of the times, the term of *puritan* conveyed these two ideas, of dislike to the government of the church, and opposition to that of the state, which are indeed more closely connected than may at first sight be supposed.

§. 525. The great point which the protestant had gained by the reformation, was the establishment of the feeling of moral responsibility in the minds of the mass of society. The Roman catholic teacher would fetter the freedom of the opinions of his flock, even though he enforced the doctrine, that each man is answerable for his actions; for with regard to actions, the duty of obedience to superiors, as it is generally insisted on, will often sanction a line of conduct little approved of by the conscience of him who enters on it: obedience in itself is not a duty, unless it be according to the word of God. The early promoters of the reformation had taught the people to think for themselves, by referring questions to the criterion of their own judgments; but they were not at all disposed to carry the principle to the length to which it must be extended whenever it is allowed to exist. The crown had destroyed the papal authority in England for nearly a century, but the power exercised by the government was only different from the papal interference inasmuch as it had not the same interest to support abuses. It sought to bring the church back to the

apostolic times; at least such was its ostensible object: and probably, if we take into consideration the change of times, and the difficulties against which it had to contend, it did, in great measure, accomplish this end; but the means employed were far from apostolic. As the mass of the inhabitants began to be enlightened, the same process took place with regard to politics. From beginning to observe the conduct of the government in the state, most men ventured to form a judgment on what was going on, and by degrees wished to exert their own influence in the direction of affairs.

§. 526. This was, doubtless, very much the case during the reign of Elizabeth; but, during her reign, when the more active spirits began to pry into state matters, they found a government, with all its faults, promoting the good of the people: they found a monarch wilful, indeed, but anxious to benefit her subjects: they found a power above them ready and able to repress every step on the part of the governed to interfere with what did not belong to them; yet whenever any real difficulty occurred, this same power, which they knew to be most formidable, was wise enough to give way before matters were brought to a crisis.

When James took the helm, the whole prospect was changed; his notions of the regal authority were higher than those of his predecessor, yet he had no prudence or self-restraint which could support a force adequate to assert his kingly power: his motto, *Beati pacifici*, had but little connexion with Christian

peace, which must be founded on justice: it was but a pretext for his cowardice: he acted as if he had never learnt that a government, in order to maintain peace, must make itself feared as well as respected: and as he became the laughingstock of foreign nations, he lost all due authority at home. The administration of public affairs would not bear to be examined: and the king, the victim of his own favourites, became tyrannically oppressive without desiring it, in order to conceal his own weakness and the maladministration of his servants. His objection to parliaments arose partly from this cause, but chiefly from the theoretical prejudices which he entertained. He would look on his authority in no other light than as an absolute monarchy; and when the house of commons began to talk of those privileges which were their birthright, the speculative autocrat and legislator could endure it no longer. His theory of ecclesiastical government was closely allied to his civil code, and in like manner referred rather to his own interest as a king, than to any other standard. In his youth he had found himself very hardly treated by the presbytery in Scotland; and he seems, during his whole life, to have retained a strong aversion from that form of church government, through which he had suffered so much, and which had acted towards his mother and himself with so little of the mild spirit of Christianity; and yet he professed himself the firm friend of it*, calling

* Calderwood's History of Scotland.

the service of the Common Prayer an evil mass, said in English. No sooner, however, was he seated on his new throne, than he discovered his mistake, and became attached to an establishment, which, with all its imperfections, is probably the most perfect which ever existed in the world, and which coincided more nearly with his own preconceived notions of subordination. Of his sincerity in these professions we have no further reason to doubt, than from his former want of candour; and all his observations concerning the church are marked with much sound sense, excepting in some few cases, in which he suffered his temper to get the better of his judgment. With regard to the Roman catholic religion, he seems to have entertained very enlightened views.

§. 527. The power of dethroning and punishing kings was the only tenet which he deemed inadmissible in practice; and if left to follow the bent of his own inclinations, he would have allowed of a toleration almost as liberal as what is now enjoyed by the members of that communion; but when he came to act, his insincerity to both sides was apparent. He renewed the severe and bloody laws against seminary priests, Jesuits, and recusants, although in his first speech to the parliament* he had declared his wish to meet the Roman catholics half way. The state of the country and the feelings of the people were not yet ready to admit of toleration

* Rapin, ii. 166.

as it is now established, and James nominally gave way to the wishes of his people while he was trying to act in direct opposition to them. The distinctions in the question which now seem so important, were then apparently little thought of. To us no two ideas seem more different and separable than, "the "being allowed the use of their religion, as a reli- "gion," and "the being invested with temporal "power:" yet were they debarred the former, a privilege which should be denied to no one; while many of the important offices in the state were filled by them, and they retained their legislative authority, a point, concerning which a difference of opinion may legitimately be entertained. They were invested with power, and yet subjected to such burdens, as were indeed to be bought off without any difficulty, but which could have little other effect than that of making them discontented with the government, and hostile to the puritanic party, who were as uncharitable towards Roman catholics as the worst bigots of that church are towards all other Christians. The conduct of some of the Roman catholics was such, as must have alarmed any friends of social order, and the whole mass were implicated in the crimes of a few. Many sincere supporters of the monarchy were dissatisfied with the moderate treatment which the Roman catholics experienced; and by having raised their voices against the measures of the government in this particular, they were connected in the eyes of the court with the puritanic party. Many more patriotic spirits

were frightened at the inroads which the king was apparently making into the constitution; and by supporting the interests of the people, were confounded with such as were hostile to the church. The constitution of the court of ecclesiastical commission enabled it to proceed in an arbitrary manner, and its proceedings assisted the other causes in augmenting the number of both these classes of persons, whom the impolicy of the court comprehended under the general denomination of puritans. Thus all who were eager for the liberty of the subject, all who feared concession to the Roman catholics, all who hated episcopacy, were confounded in one common mass, and all had too little reason to rely on the wisdom or sincerity of James.

The king himself was probably little under the influence of any religious feeling. He talked about religion, and wrote on subjects connected with it, but he swore profusely in his ordinary conversation, and was the companion of libertinism; while the favouritism in which he indulged made him unjust to his most faithful servants, and produced a venal disposal of every office in the court[a]: and yet the weakness of James was probably the chief source of his faults, and more than overbalanced all the talents which he possessed.

[a] Nothing tended more to weaken the crown than the power which James exercised of alienating the royal property. (Burnet's Own Times, i. 26.)

## DATES RELATIVE TO THE USE OF THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH.

1536. Cromwell orders every parson to cause a Bible in Latin and English to be set up in the choir for the perusal of the people. Fox, ii. 324.

1538. Cromwell orders a Bible of the largest volume to be set up in every church, in some place convenient for reading. Fox, ii. 325.

1539. A license for printing the Bible granted to Cromwell, that all persons may have the free and liberal use of it. Burnet's Records, iii. No. 15.

1540. May. A king's proclamation orders a Bible of the largest volume to be provided by the curate and parishioners, under a penalty of 40*s*. per month.

1541. A Brief published directing the same.

1543. The Bible was again suppressed. Strype's Cranmer, i. 121. Lewis, 148.

1546. A proclamation against Tyndall's and Coverdale's Bible. Strype's Cranmer, i. 197.

1547. Edward's Injunctions directed that the whole Bible in English of the largest volume should be set up in every church. Lewis, 156.

1559. Elizabeth issued the same Injunction. Lewis, 212.

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

| Date. | | Authority. |
|---|---|---|
| 706 | Adhelm, Saxon Psalms. | Mant's Preface. |
| 721 | Egbert's four Gospels. | ——— |
| 734 | Bede's St. John's Gospel. | Fuller's Ch. Hist. 99. p. i. |
| 880 | Alfred's Version of the Psalms. | Ibid. i. 121. §. 44. |
| 1340 | Rolle's (or Hampole's) Psalms, &c. | Lewis, p. 13. |
| 1380 | Wiclif's Bible. | p. 19. |
| 1526 | Tyndall's New Testament. | p. 59. |
| 1530 | ——— Pentateuch. | p. 70. |
| 1531 | ——— Jonas. | p. 73. |
| | G. Joye, Isaiah. | p. 78. |
| 1534 | ——— Jer. Psal. Song of Moses. | p. 87, 88. |
| 1535 | Coverdale's Bible. | p. 91. |
| 1537 | Matthew's Bible, (i. e. J. Rogers.) | p. 105. |
| 1539 | Great Bible, Cranmer's. | p. 122. |
| | Taverner's Bible. | p. 130. |
| 1560 | Geneva Bible. | p. 207. |
| 1568 | Bishops' Bible. (Parker's.) | p. 235. |
| 1582 | Rhemes New Testament. | p. 277. |
| 1609 | Douay Bible. | p. 286 |
| 1611 | Authorized Version. | p. 306, &c. |

## APPENDIX D. TO CHAP. XII.

### HISTORY OF THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE

531. The division of the subject; various readings from alterations of the text. 532. There has been but one translation, which has been frequently corrected. 533. Saxon Translations: Hampole's, Wiclif's. 534. Tyndall's Translation. 533. Coverdale's Bible; Matthew's. 536. The Great Bible, or Cranmer's; Taverner's. 537. Geneva Bible. 538. Bishops' or Parker's Bible. 539. Rhemes and Douay Translation. 540. The authorized Bible.

§. 531. THE History of the English Bible will naturally divide itself into four periods:—

1. That before any printed translations.

2. The reign of Henry VIII.

3. From thence to the end of the reign of Elizabeth; and

4. From thence to the publication of the authorized version.

But before we enter on the history, it may be observed, that there is one circumstance which frequently creates a difficulty in examining these various translations, whether in MS. or print, and which has made them appear much more numerous than they really are[a]. The persons who transcribed the copies, or who superintended the printing, seem to have introduced alterations into the text, without any other authority than that of their own judgment. The variety of readings exhibited in the

[a] The authorities followed in this abstract are Lewis's History

MS. Bibles of Wiclif has led Dr. James* and subsequent historians to call this corrected version a distinct translation; but the various readings are not more numerous than those which might probably be found in different editions of what is called Tyndall's New Testament.

§. 532. In speaking of the different translations of the Bible, such expressions are frequently used as would lead those who are unacquainted with the facts, to suppose that they formed so many independent works; but we shall take a more correct view of the subject in asserting, that there is but one version of the protestant Bible in print, altered indeed and improved by different hands, and which has received the subsequent amendments of many learned men, but from the first to the last there has been but one actual translation. Let any one compare the earliest and the latest, and he will find a diversity indeed of words, but such a similarity of expression as cannot be accidental. Let him then look at two independent translations of the same book, of Thucydides for instance, by Hobbes and Smith, and the difference will immediately become visible. The resemblance in the versions is so great, that it might safely be maintained that none of the

of the Translations of the Bible, reprinted 1818. Newcome's Historical View of the English Biblical Translations, Dublin, 1792. Many of the observations have been verified by examining the different works themselves. There is much useful matter in Baber's preface to his reprint of Lewis's N. T.

* Lewis, 43.

authors of a new one undertook the task without the full assistance of such previous translations as had been made. The wisdom of proceeding by this method is obvious, unless there be some actual error of translation: the mere fact that the version has been already received, and is familiar to the ears of the people, is a strong reason why nothing should be altered.

§. 533. The Saxon church seems to have enjoyed at an early period the benefit of possessing the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue: for, independent of many different portions translated by various persons, Bede is said to have given a Saxon version of the whole; and though this statement is probably incorrect*, yet he wrote a comment on most of the books in the Bible†, and translated St. John's Gospel, or at least a part of it, immediately before his death‡. Alfred is said to have translated the Psalter||, the whole Bible or Testament, into Saxon; but the selections which he made for his own use appear to have been confounded with a general translation. Elfric§, about the end of the tenth century, undertook his translation of the Scriptures from the Latin; and from the different styles of the Anglo-Saxon versions of the Gospels, they must have been translated oftener than once[a]. Archbishop Parker, in his

[a] See more particulars to the same effect in Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 423, note 46.

* Baber, pref. lix. † Turner's Hist. Anglo-Saxons, iii. 381, 385. ‡ Fuller, i. 99. || Turner's Ang. Sax. ii. 95. § Ibid. iii. 472.

anxiety to prove that the proceedings of the reformation were not novelties, has published a Saxon version of the four Gospels.

The oldest English version now extant, is due to a priest of the name of Rolle, who was a hermit at Hampole in Yorkshire, and translated the Psalms, and several other canticles from the Scriptures, and wrote a running commentary on them: (he died in 1349:) and it seems that at least parts, if not all the New Testament, were about this period rendered intelligible to those who understood only their mother tongue. (1380.) But the first person who published the Bible in English was John Wiclif[b], his translation is made from the Vulgate, as he was unacquainted with the original languages; but he was so desirous of translating literally, that he has rendered it frequently very obscure to those who are unacquainted with the idiom of the Latin. Notwithstanding the opposition which was raised to the distribution of this work, numerous copies of it still remain[c].

[b] This account is taken from Lewis's History of the Translations, p. 19. In the Life of Wiclif, published 1720, there is a considerable account of his way of proceeding, which Mr. Lewis seems subsequently to have erased, as it is not in the edition of 1820, Oxford. This states that he and his friends first composed the best Latin text they could, and compared it with the Hebrew occasionally; and that they did not translate word for word, but according to the sense. In the same omitted paragraph is a catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, which distinguishes the Apocrypha, that is "withouten authoritie of "Byleve." p. 73, 1720. I know not why it was omitted. The translation is very nearly verbal.

[c] Two editions of the New Testament of this version have

§. 534. The difficulty[a] of multiplying copies must have created a constant hinderance to the general use of the scriptures, had not Providence ordained that the discovery of the art of printing should as it were open a way for the reformation of the church, and materially assist its progress. The first person who printed any part of the Bible in English was William Tyndall. He had received his education in Oxford and Cambridge, and having been driven into Flanders, he published, with the assistance of John Frith and William Roye, a translation of the New Testament from the Greek[b]. (1526.) He was proceeding in this task, and had printed translations of

been published: one by Lewis, fol. 1731, to which his History of the English Translations formed a preface. And again 4to. 1810, by H. H. Baber: this is merely a reprint of the other with a preface. Mr. T. H. Horne, in the Introduction to the Scriptures, ii. 238, speaks of a translation older than Wiclif's to be found in three libraries in Oxford. After having examined the MS. in Christ Church library I am myself convinced that this is not the case, and perhaps the true solution is to be found in §. 531; and that this MS. is a copy of Wiclif's Bible, with which liberties have been taken and glosses introduced. In some respects it resembles Mr. Douce's, spoken of by Mr. Baber.

[a] Archbishop Usher tells us that, in 1429, one of these Testaments cost 2*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* (170 groats) which is as much as would now buy forty Testaments: (Lewis, 25.) but this is a very inadequate view of the matter. By Raignier's tables a quarter of wheat, in 1425, cost 5*s.* 8*d.* (17 groats.) The price of the Testament was therefore ten quarters of wheat, or about 30*l.*, a sum which would purchase at least 400.

[b] This edition is by Strype called the New Testament translated by Hotchyn; (that is, Tyndall;) Fuller calls him Tyndall, alias Hichins. (Memor. i. 113. Fuller, v. 224. §. 37.)

the Pentateuch and the prophet Jonas, when he was exalted to a better world, through the trial of martyrdom; a crown to which both his associates were afterwards called. George Joye, who was employed by the Dutch booksellers in publishing an edition of this New Testament, took the liberty of making alterations in the text, though it was still printed under the name of Tyndall: a circumstance which caused an unseemly dispute between them. Joye himself continued the work by translating Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Psalms.

§. 535. But the glory of putting forth the first English Bible in print, was reserved for Miles Coverdale, afterwards bishop of Exeter, who, in 1535, published what he calls a *special translation*, a term which has been generally conceived to mean that it was not borrowed from any other source, which is hardly true, unless the expression be received under great latitude of interpretation, as the translation bears evident marks of having been in some degree taken from the former, though many expressions in it are varied. The book is dedicated to the king, in consequence of the directions which he had given for translating the scriptures, and the favour which he shewed towards the undertaking generally: for, upon the remonstrance of the clergy, who objected to Tyndall's translation, on account of the supposed heresies which it contained, it was ordered to be destroyed; and the king directed that a more correct version should be formed for the use of the people. Coverdale, however, was not peculiarly

suited to the task, as he was unacquainted with the original languages, and translated from such different Latin and Dutch copies as he could procure.

(A. D. 1537.) The edition which passes under the name of Matthew's, is partly taken from Tyndall, partly from Coverdale; and was put forth under this fictitious name, probably by John Rogers, who wished to conceal himself, through the fear of persecution. It was of this Bible that an impression of 2500 copies was burnt at Paris, in 1538, by the inquisition, though Francis had given leave for its being printed there.

§. 536. (A. D. 1539.) The Great Bible [a], published under the patronage of Cranmer, is rather another edition of that called Matthew's, than a new one; and has acquired the name of the archbishop from a preface which he wrote to the second edition, as well as from the support which he gave to the publication. Cranmer, indeed, intended that this work should undergo a thorough correction; and for that purpose, having required the aid of the convocation in 1542, he proceeded to apportion the several parts to the different members; but found so much opposition among the bishops, that he persuaded the king to refer the matter to the universities, a step which might have produced some good effects, if the next parliament had not proved so favourable to the other party as to counteract all these designs *. A

[a] It is from this version that the psalms in the Prayer Book are taken, with very slight variation.

* See §. 222.

Bible, recognised by Richard Taverner, was published also during this year, which is so much altered as almost to merit the title of a new translation. He had belonged to Cardinal's college, in Oxford, and was subsequently taken into the protection of sir Thomas Cromwell, afterwards earl of Essex, under whose patronage he executed the work. Upon the fall of Cromwell, he was for a time imprisoned in the Tower, but speedily restored to the favour of the king. He was famous for his great knowledge of Greek.

§. 537. (A. D. 1560.) The refugees assembled at Geneva during the reign of Mary, employed themselves, among other useful pursuits, in forming a new translation of the Bible from the original languages. The persons said to have taken part in this work are Coverdale, Goodman, Gilby, Whittingham, Sampson, and Cole; to these are sometimes added Knox, Bodleigh, and Pullain. The work, as might have been expected, was in part new and in part a revision of the old translation. Little need be said to prove its excellency, since, on comparing them, we should find that the present authorized Bible differs but little from it; and that those who have engaged in the two subsequent versions have frequently adopted expressions taken from it, into their own work. There are many marginal notes and glosses subjoined, which occasionally point out the political bias in the minds of the composers; a circumstance which induced James I, during the conference at Hampton Court, to say that it was the

worst * of all the translations: one instance among many, where the judgment of that monarch was overcome by his kingly prejudices; for it is certainly better than any before it. It was much used in private families, but never authoritatively introduced into the church [a]. The division into verses was first adopted in this Bible [b].

§. 538. (A. D. 1568.) When a new edition of the Great Bible † was required for the use of parish churches, in the reign of Elizabeth, Parker was unwilling to put it forth again without endeavouring to correct all the errors which had been observed in it; and for this purpose employed a certain number of divines to aid him in the task of making it as perfect as possible. As the majority of the persons employed were bishops, the Bible itself has been ordinarily denominated the Bishops', or Parker's Bible, and is the one which formed the basis for the last or authorized translation. The persons engaged

[a] N. B. It is sometimes called the Breeches Bible, from Genesis iii. 7. where Adam and Eve are said to have sown fig-leaves together to make themselves breeches.

[b] The Bible was divided into sections and verses, marked off by points, perhaps as early as the time of Ezra; a method adopted for the sake of interpreting it from Hebrew into Chaldee. The division into chapters is of much later date, and was made by Hugo de Sancta Caro, or Cardinalis, who composed the first Concordance to the Vulgate, (1240.) It has been used in the Hebrew since Rab. Nathan made his Concordance. 1445. Robert Stephens divided the New Testament, and his son Henry printed it so. (1551.) (Prideaux, Conn. ii. 84.)

* Fuller, x. 14. † Strype's Parker, i. 414.

in it were Alley, Davis, Sandys, Horne, Grindal, Parkhurst, Cox, and Guest, all bishops; besides Peerson, Beecon, Pern, Cole, and Goodman. This may more properly be called a corrected edition of the Great Bible, for nothing was altered unless it gave occasion to an error. A large preface is prefixed to it[a], as well as several tables, one of which forms that of the degrees of kindred within which matrimony is forbidden, inserted at present in our Common Prayer Book.

§. 539. The Roman catholics, finding that of the numerous copies of the Bible some must of necessity fall into the hands of members of their communion, wisely determined to put forth a translation of their own. The New Testament was printed at Rhemes in 1582; the whole Bible at Douay in 1609. It is made from the Vulgate, and abounds with expressions, in which, from retaining the words of the original, the sense is scarcely intelligible to an ordinary reader. The persons who were deeply engaged in the work were cardinal Allen, Greg. Martin, and R. Bristol*: others ascribe the version of the New Testament to William Raynold. The work was accompanied by marginal notes by Thomas Worthington; and in order to recommend its adoption, Greg. Martin published an attack on the translations in general use in this country, and was answered by Fulke.

§. 540. In consequence of certain objections raised

[a] Printed in Strype's Parker, No. 84.

* Newcome, 89.

against the Bishops' Bible in the conference at Hampton Court, a new translation was agreed on, and every step taken which could render it worthy of our church and nation. The king called upon the principal divines of the nation to assist in carrying on the work, and invited all who had any acquaintance with the subject, to lend their aid with regard to such texts of scripture as they had found to be incorrectly rendered in the former translations. The number of persons engaged in the work itself amounted to forty-seven[a], who were divided into

[a] The translators were divided into six classes, and were to meet at Westminster, Cambridge, and Oxford. (Lewis, 310.)

These met at Westminster.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Andrewes, D. of Westm^r. Overall, D. of St. Paul's, Saravia, Clerke, Layfield, Leigh, Burleigh, Kinge, Thomson, Bedwell. | Pentateuch. The story from Joshua to the first book of the Chronicles exclusive. | Barlow, D. of Chester, Hutchinson, Spencer, Fenton, Rabbett, Sanderson, Dakins. | The Epistles of St. Paul and the Canonical Epistles. |

The classes at Cambridge were

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lively, Richardson, Chaderton, Dillingham, Harrison, Andrews, Spaldinge, Birge. | From the first of Chronicles with the rest of the story, and the Hagiographa, viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Cantica, Ecclesiastes. | Duport, Brathwaite, Radcliffe, Ward, Downes, Boyse, Warde. | The prayer of Manasses and rest of the Apochrypha. |

six committees, and sat at Westminster and the two universities. The different portions of the Bible were assigned among them, but each portion was, on its completion, subjected to the other committees for examination; and in case of any difficulties, a final committee was to be formed for their discussion. In order that the clergy so employed might not be unrewarded, all persons possessed of any ecclesiastical patronage, were urged to bestow whatever happened to fall vacant on some of the translators, and the king exhorted ecclesiastical bodies to be liberal in contributing money for the support of the undertaking. The rules laid down for the performance of the task were judicious. As little alteration as possible was to be made in the Bishops' Bible; and wherever this did not agree with the original text, recourse was to be had to former translations. No notes were to be affixed beyond what the literal explanation of the Hebrew and Greek words adopted into the text might require; and a few marginal references, and only a few, were to be appended. The commissions were issued in 1604; the persons

At Oxford.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hardinge, Reynolds, Holland, Kilby, Smith, Brett, Fareclowe. | The four greater Prophets with the Lamentation, and the twelve lesser Prophets. | Ravis, D. of Ch. Ch. Abbot, D. of Winchester, Montague, D. of Worces. Thompson, D. of Winds. Savile, Perin, Ravens, Harmer. | The four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Apocalypse. |

appointed entered on the work itself in the spring of 1607 *, but the Bible was not printed till 1611, so much time and caution was used to prevent inaccuracies.

Above two hundred years have now elapsed since this review of the Bible; and the church has subsequently contented itself with discovering inaccuracies, without attempting to correct them. The whole question of a new translation is one of considerable delicacy; but the opinion of archbishop Newcome, supported as it is by the concurrent testimony of nearly thirty divines of considerable weight, together with his own judicious remarks, which was given to the world almost forty years ago, ought not to have remained without due and public attention. If prudential reasons forbid the publication of a new version, yet surely there could be no danger in the correction of such mistakes as are obvious to all men, (for some passages are scarcely intelligible,) and of such as are acknowledged by all who are acquainted with the original languages. These amendments might be introduced into the margin, and sanctioned by authority, so that they might be used at the discretion of the minister; a step which would at least prepare the way for their ultimate introduction into the text, and shew a wish to make use of the growing knowledge of the country, for the improvement of the services of the church. Our present translation is, probably, the best in existence; yet this circumstance need not prevent the attempt of lessening its imperfections.

* Johnson, p. 97.

# CHAPTER XIII.

## THE REIGN OF CHARLES I. 1625, TO 1649.

551. Causes of the fall of the church. 552. Montague Mainwairing; impolicy of the court. 553. Forced loans promoted by the clergy. 554. Star-chamber. 555. High commission; Williams; Abbot. 556. Feoffees of impropriations brought before the exchequer. 557. Arminianism; declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles. 558. Sabbatarian controversy. 559. Book of Sports. 560, 561. The question discussed. 562. Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton. 563. Williams; Osbolston. 564. Scotch Liturgy. 565. Episcopacy in Scotland. 566. Charles I. does not govern wisely. 567. In 1637 he endeavours to introduce the Liturgy; the canons sent down previously. 568. Tumults in Edinburgh; the covenant framed and signed; civil war successfully carried on against the government. 569. Laud; ceremonies. 570. Canons of 1640. 571. State of England. 572. Long parliament. 573. Bishops deprived of their votes. 574. Destruction of the church. 575. Causes of the war. 576—579. Outline of the war. 580. Self-denying ordinance; Fairfax; Cromwell. 581. Their campaign. 582. Lord Strafford; Laud. 583. His character. 584. And trial. 585. Usher's episcopacy; the assembly of divines at Westminster. 586. The parties in the assembly. 587. Presbyterians, their church government. 588. Independents; Erastians. 589. Thirty-nine Articles altered; church government; ordination. 590. Works of the assembly, directory, &c. 591. Presbyterian government. 592. Set up in London and Lancashire; earnestness exhibited in its favour. 593. The growth of independency. 594. Fate of the king. 595. His discussions on episcopacy, (a) present state of church discipline. 596, 597. Character of Charles. 598. Sufferings of the clergy. 599. Cambridge. 600. Oxford.

§. 551. (A. D. 1625.) IN the period of history on which we are about to enter, it is difficult to distin-

guish between the portions which belong to the civil, or to the ecclesiastical historian. The interests of church and state are so intimately blended, that they admit of no real separation; yet the multiplicity of affairs, in this eventful reign, renders it absolutely necessary that much should be omitted, and that a decided line should be drawn between the two. Strictly speaking, perhaps little can be referred to the church alone, but during the whole of the earlier government of Charles, churchmen not only influenced his councils to a great extent, but the influence which they possessed tended greatly to overthrow the monarchy, and to swallow up the ecclesiastical establishment in its train. The causes which had contributed to transfer to the church much of the popular odium which was due to the civil government, not only continued to exist, but some accidental circumstances tended to augment the evil; it must therefore be our first object to enter on the detail of these, that we may understand how the church and monarchy fell together, and how each assisted in promoting the destruction of the other.

§. 552. Montague *, in an answer to a Roman catholic book [a], had made some concessions which offended many protestants, and when attacked, had

[a] The book which he answered was called, A Gag for the New Gospel; his answer, A New Gag for an Old Goose. On the invocation of saints. *Appello ad Cæsarem.* Collier, ii. 736. gives a full account. Neal's Puritans.

* Fuller, xi. 119.

defended himself by publishing an appeal to the king, which tended only to increase the storm. When objections were raised against these books in the house of commons, the king injudiciously advocated the cause of the writer, till deterred from doing so by the displeasure which this conduct created among his subjects.

The necessities of the court induced those who governed to have recourse to many expedients for raising money, and as these depended for their success on the strength of the royal prerogative, whatever augmented it became peculiarly acceptable to those in authority. Mainwairing *, who was one of the chaplains to the king, preached and printed two sermons on this subject, (1628,) which gave great offence to the commons, and he was severely punished. Montague was held to bail in 2000*l.*; (the dissolution of the parliament probably prevented further proceedings against him;) Mainwairing was fined 1000*l.* and declared incapable of holding preferment, or of preaching before the court. Yet both these men were subsequently made bishops. The punishments which had been thus inflicted by the commons, were perhaps tyrannical, but it argued in the court a great contempt for the opinions of the nation, when the animadversions of the parliament were to prove the road to preferment, and naturally connected the church, in the minds of the people, with the party which was adverse to the civil liberties of the sub-

* Fuller, xi. 129. Collier, ii. 743.

ject. These may be regarded as accidental circumstances, yet they strongly mark the temper of the times, and the inclination of the court to convert the church into an instrument for enlarging its power, a design which was more strongly displayed on other occasions.

§. 553. When in the year 1626 the court *, on the dissolution of the parliament, adopted the method of forced loans, in order to meet the necessities of the state, the king sent a circular letter to the bishops, instructing them to urge their clergy to shew their zeal in promoting these objects through their sermons: a step which, if successful, could not fail to give the clergy a close connexion, in the eyes of the people, with the abuses under which so many real friends of liberty were groaning. Laud was probably the author of the plan, as well as employed to draw up the letter: and indeed the whole of his policy went upon the idea that he was benefiting the church by making churchmen contribute to the direct support of the state, and thus divesting them of their spiritual character. Connected as church and state must be, we cannot entirely separate them, but the very notion of a priesthood, set apart for the service of God, seems to imply that, as far as such a separation is possible, it should be maintained. Laud was probably an honest and pious man, but he seems not to have seen that the improvements which he was sincerely anxious to promote, were in-

* Heylin's Laud, p. 162.

compatible with the government which he endeavoured to support; since arbitrary authority, in either church or state, must have the tendency of corrupting those who command, and debasing those who obey. The steps by which the house of commons were inclined to assert their right of paying no taxes which they had not imposed on themselves, appeared to Laud to sap the foundations of government, and to give the subject an indirect power over his prince: in attempting therefore to obviate this difficulty, he appealed to the people through the clergy; but in so doing, he made the latter appear to the eyes of their flocks to be the tools of the court.

§. 554. When more churchmen were admitted into the privy-council, and the same individuals became members of the star-chamber and of the court of high commission, it was not unnatural that the people should connect in their own minds the two latter courts, as constituting one and the same authority, and thus the odium attached to either the one or the other, combined to create a hatred against the church. "The star-chamber * was a court of "very ancient original, but new modelled by sta- "tutes 3° Hen. VII. ch. 1. and 21° Hen. VIII. ch. 20, "consisting of divers lords, spiritual and temporal, "being privy counsellors, together with two judges "of the courts of common law, without the inter- "vention of any jury. Their jurisdiction extended

* Blackstone's Commentaries, iv. ch. 19.

" legally over riots, perjury, misbehaviour of she-
" riffs, and other notorious misdemeanors, contrary
" to the laws of the land. Yet this was afterwards,
" as lord Clarendon informs us, stretched to the as-
" serting of all proclamations and orders of state:
" to the vindicating of illegal commissions, and
" grants of monopolies; holding for honourable that
" which pleased, and for just that which profited;
" and becoming both a court of law to determine
" civil rights, and a court of revenue to enrich the
" treasury: the (privy) council table by proclama-
" tions enjoining to the people that which was not
" enjoined by the laws, and prohibiting that which
" was not prohibited: and the star-chamber, which,
" consisted of the same persons in different rooms,
" censuring the breach and disobedience to those pro-
" clamations by very great fines, imprisonments, and
" corporal severities; so that any disrespect to any
" acts of state, or to the persons of statesmen, was
" in no time more penal, and the foundations of
" right never more in danger to be destroyed." The severity frequently exercised by this court must have been sufficient to excite a great dislike to it, had all its acts been legal; in many cases they inflicted the punishments of whipping, branding, cutting off the ears, and slitting the nose; and this, not on thieves and vagabonds, but on writers of political and religious pamphlets *; and sometimes to gratify private malice, for the interest of the court was

* Fuller, xi. 136.

readily called into action, whenever the character of a privy counsellor was attacked.

§. 555. The court of high commission had been created by the eighth clause in the act of supremacy*; and during the reign of Elizabeth, considerable corruptions and much oppression had originated from it; but when many of the laity were made parties in the contest about ceremonies, it became in several dioceses a source of very serious hardship[a], and irritated the body of the people against the whole government of the church.

The faults also of Laud were, by a species of reasoning which is not uncommon, reflected on the body to which he belonged; and the general anger against the court, which arose from the dissolution of so many parliaments, one after another, was in a great measure directed against him. This dislike was increased by the treatment experienced by two churchmen, who, though high in situation, were oppressed by the court, and subjected to the malice of their enemies. Williams, bishop of Lincoln† and lord keeper of the seals, was deprived of this latter office from the enmity of the duke of Buckingham; (A. D. 1627.) and Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, suspended from exercising any ecclesiastical functions,

[a] Mrs. Hutchinson says, i. 129, (8vo edit.) such "of the pu-"ritans" as could not flee, were tormented in the bishops' courts; fined, whipt, pilloried, imprisoned, and suffered to enjoy no rest, so that death was better than life to them. However exaggerated, this must have been in some degree true.

* §. 428. † Collier, ii. 735.

because, according to Fuller*, he had accidentally killed a game-keeper some years before. He had, however, ever since continued to perform the duties of his office, had been cleared from all irregularity by a commission which was formed for this purpose soon after the accident took place†, and no mention of this reason is made in the commission by which he was suspended. His real offence, probably, consisted in his refusal to license a sermon of Dr. Sibthorpe[a], who had preached in favour of the legality of loans. The effect of these severities was, as might have been expected, to create a further ill-will towards the court and Laud, and a general sympathy in favour of the sufferers.

§. 556. (A. D. 1632.) Another cause of discontent‡ arose in the suppression of the feoffees for impropriations. The poverty of the church had induced many persons to contribute money for the purpose of obviating this evil, and twelve feoffees were constituted for carrying this pious object into execution, which was to be effected by the purchase of impropriate rectories. They consisted of four divines, four lawyers, and four citizens, who acted without any legal authority, or charter of any sort, and large sums of money were raised for furthering their ends. The first check which was given to this society, arose from a sermon§ preached in Oxford

[a] In Collier, ii. 740, there is some account of this sermon: see too Rapin, ii. 259.

* xi. 127. † Collier, ii. 740. ‡ Fuller, xi. 136.
§ Heylin's Laud, 210.

in 1630, wherein the preacher inveighed vehemently against those who managed its concerns, accusing them of carrying on their own political plans under the mask of religion. They were said to retain all the impropriations so purchased in their own hands, and not to transfer them to the livings to which they had belonged: to employ the proceeds in maintaining factious preachers in market towns, and in supporting silenced ministers and their families. Such an establishment was liable to be turned to the very worst of purposes, but if well directed, might have produced much good; and it was said, that White*, one of the feoffees, privately offered Laud to submit the whole to his lordship's direction: yet the fear of what might happen, induced those who directed the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, to bring the matter into the exchequer, where the incorporation was overthrown, the property forfeited to the crown, and the feoffees subjected to such punishment as the star-chamber chose to inflict: this last part, however, was never carried into effect. Had Laud, by joining in this society and putting himself at its head, attempted to guide, instead of oppose it, the result might have been very beneficial to the church and creditable to himself: as it was, he, for the time, carried his point, and violated the better feelings of those who could hardly perceive the danger, however real it might be: and in the end this reaction tended to destroy what remained of the establishment.

* Fuller, xi. 143.

§. 557. Notwithstanding the countenance which the church of England had given to the decrees of the synod of Dort, the opinions of the Arminians so gradually prevailed among the higher clergy, particularly among those who had the disposal of preferment, that to entertain sentiments in favour of Calvinism was the greatest bar to the advancement of any clergyman. Bishop Morley, when chaplain to lord Carnarvon *, was asked by a country gentleman who wished to know something of their doctrines, " what the Arminians held?" " They hold," says he, " the best bishoprics and deaneries in Eng- " land [a];" a bon mot, which sufficiently shews how far party feeling was allowed to prevail on every subject, and will partially account for the bias which the religious part of the community, particularly the lower clergy, took against the equally strong prejudice of the court; and it should be remembered that there is an anti-calvinism which is as much at variance with the doctrines of the church of England and with scripture, as the decrees of the synod of Dort can be.

(June 14, 1626.) Early in the reign the king had issued a proclamation † enjoining his subjects, particularly the clergy, to abstain from all innovations with regard to religion; and in order to cooperate

[a] The fact is alluded to in the remonstrance which was made to the king by the house of commons, 1628. (Collier's Hist. ii. 744.)

* Clarendon's Life, p. 50 or 26. † Heylin's Laud, p. 154.

with this injunction, (1628.) a declaration[b]* was prefixed to a new edition of the Thirty-nine Articles, in which all persons were forbidden to interpret them in any but the grammatical sense: and it is no small proof of the temper of the times, that this was deemed to be in favour of the Arminian side of the question †, and that the Calvinists were about to petition against it. Yet the conduct of the court did not correspond with this apparent temperance in its declarations, for when bishop Davenant ‡ (March 1631) had preached on the subject of predestination, and in so doing offended the king, he was brought before the council, and severely reprimanded, for that which, according to his own answer, was done in ignorance, and perfectly in accordance with the published injunctions of the court. Something of the same sort took place with regard to some preachers in Oxford, on which Fuller observes, "The expulsion of these preachers expelled not, "but increased the differences in Oxford, which "burnt the more for blazing the less; many com-"plaining that the sword of justice did not cut in-"differently on both sides, but that it was more "penal for some to touch, than others to break the "king's declaration." The natural effect of all this was to render every one who entertained Calvinistic

[b] There is a copy of this original edition, 1628, in Christ Church library: the date of this publication is sometimes questioned.

* Sparrow's Collection, p. 87. † Collier's Hist. ii. 746.
‡ Fuller, xi. 138.

opinions, hostile to the court, and to make them connect a dislike to the government of the church with the hatred which they bore towards the state.

§. 558. The sabbatarian controversy, too, contributed to injure the cause of the church in the minds of the people. During the period in which the Roman catholic religion had prevailed in this country much laxity had existed with regard to the day set apart for God's service, a laxity which had been continued during the reigns of Elizabeth and James* by the practice of the court, though a sentiment of disapprobation against such proceedings seems gradually to have spread throughout the nation. The question, indeed †, involved a considerable number of heads, which were variously argued, but the chief difference of opinion consisted with regard to the manner in which this day ought to be observed.

While one party admitted of no other term for its designation than that of the Sabbath, this appellation was the abomination of another; and moderate and indifferent persons called it by the several names of Sunday, Sabbath, or Lord's day.

Its beginning and duration formed another subject of dispute; some confined its continuance to the time occupied by the service of the church, and others were as strenuous in enjoining a strict observance of it from the Saturday evening till the following night.

One party founded the institution on the sole authority of the church, others attributed the change

* See §. 519, a. † Fuller, xi. 144, &c.

in the day to the appointment of the church founded on apostolic usage, while the original dedication of one day in seven rested on the command given by the Almighty at the creation: this contained virtually the question of the legality of any alteration in the day, and it appears that the church of Geneva had once thought of adopting Thursday as their day of rest.

But the point which was agitated with the greatest warmth, was as to the manner in which this day ought to be kept holy. The advocates of the greatest strictness would allow of no amusements but walking, while the maintainers of the contrary opinion devoted those parts of the day, which were not occupied by religious services, to every species of enjoyment. The ordinary amusements* in country parishes were called church-ales, clerk-ales, and bid-ales, besides the revels or feasts of the dedication of the church: they were merry-makings, consisting of drinking and sports, particularly dancing, which took place either every Sunday or on particular occasions. Such meetings necessarily led to disorders, and the religious part of the community, in their anxiety to repress them, occasionally fell into the opposite extreme[a], and in their animadversions on

[a] "Some preachers went so far as to maintain, that to do any "work or servile business on the Lord's day, is as great a sin as "to kill a man or to commit adultery; that to throw a bowl, "to make a feast, or dress a wedding dinner on the Lord's day,

* Neal's Puritans, ii. 214.

the unruly, became uncharitable towards those who differed from themselves, and unjustly severe on the lower orders, whose excesses might probably have been checked without any open interference in the magistracy.

§. 559. In 1633 Chief Justice Richardson, at the request of the magistrates in Somersetshire *, ordered the Sunday ales and wakes to be suppressed, and directed that the order should be read by the clergy in their several churches: an interference with ecclesiastical matters which the archbishop, whose influence was now supreme, highly resented. The judge, therefore, was brought before the privy council, and commanded to rescind his order at the next assizes. To correct this spirit of what was called puritanism, the king, probably at the suggestion of Laud, issued a proclamation which is generally known by the name of the Book of Sports. It contains a proclamation † which had been formerly issued by James I. and was accompanied with a declaration, that the king would not allow any curtailing of the liberty of his poorer subjects, with regard to their amusements on the Sunday. The clergy were enjoined to read this in their churches, a command which became a stum-

" is as great a sin as for a man to take a knife and cut his " child's throat. That to ring more bells than one on the Lord's " day, is as great a sin as to commit murder. And I know also " a town of my acquaintance, the preachers there brought the " people to that pass, that neither baked nor roast meat was to " be found in all the parish for a Sunday's dinner throughout " the year," &c. &c. (Preface to Prideaux on the Sabbath.)

* Rushworth's Coll. ii. i. 191. † Ibid. 193. §. 519.

blingblock to many sincere men. Some* indeed approved of the contents, others paid a partial obedience to the injunction by reading the proclamation, and immediately repeating the fourth commandment, or preaching on the due observance of the Sabbath; while others utterly refused all compliance with the order. Among the bishops there was a great difference in the severity with which they animadverted on those clergymen who had been guilty of neglect in this particular. Some deprived those who persisted in their refusal; others declined becoming the accusers of their brethren; while much moderation was exhibited by a third class, who exercised severity on a few only of the most obstinate refusers.

§. 560. The subject itself is one on which so few directions are contained in the scriptures, that much latitude of opinion might naturally be expected with regard to it. Its name perhaps, and its exact duration, are of less practical importance; but the nature of the institution, and the manner in which it ought to be observed, are of the greatest consequence. The generally received opinion, and that which tallies best with the institutions of the church of England, seems to be, that the dedication of one day in seven to the service of God is part of the moral law; that the change of this day from Saturday to Sunday is sanctioned by the custom of the apostles; and that the Christian's liberty will allow of any method of keeping this day which answers the com-

* Fuller, xi. 148.

mand, of abstaining from work, and of keeping it holy. Amusements in the abstract contain nothing which need infringe on this holiness; yet it is obvious, that some amusements will so far unfit the mind for religious duties, that they must be totally inadmissible: that to persons situated in different spheres of life a different rule may be applicable; and that all recreations which offend against the religious scruples of our brethren, ought out of charity to be avoided. In this case therefore it seemed an act of great impolicy, to say no worse, to make the clergy exhort their parishioners to join in dancing, leaping, vaulting, archery, and May games; amusements which were little likely to promote the spirituality of the Sabbath employments, even if we grant that they are not actually wrong: and the issuing such a proclamation must have had the tendency of alienating from the government the affections of all those who had any doubts on these points. The effect in Somersetshire* seems to have been, that the laity were petitioning to have these disorders on the Sabbath put down by authority, while the high-church party requested that these amusements might remain; a state of things, which if it produced no other consequence, must have raised a very unfavourable impression in the breasts of the people concerning their spiritual guides.

§. 561. Had this proclamation confined itself to its proper province, had it condemned in general terms the profanation of the Lord's day, while it

* Neal, ii. 215.

forbade magistrates to punish any who were not engaged in unlawful pursuits, the object of the king might probably have been furthered: for on these points, the law, as it now stands, seems to be well calculated for procuring a due observance of the sabbath. While gross violations of propriety are punishable as misdemeanors, pragmatical interference in the amusements of the people is prevented by the silence of the law, and every sincere observer of the sabbath is at liberty to influence by his example and advice others who are less strict in their practice; a species of persuasion which is at once the most effectual, and in which every step is sure to be accompanied with the moral improvement of those who make it[a].

§. 562. (A. D. 1637.) A piece of severity * exercised on three members of the learned professions, produced more effect in spreading a general hatred against Laud and the government, than the victims of this severity perhaps deserved. Prynne, a common-lawyer; Bastwick, a physician; and Burton, a clergyman; had each of them published pamphlets offensive to the court, and when brought before the

[a] There are two acts of parliament during this reign against profaning the Lord's day; 1° ch. i. forbids bull-baiting, bear-baiting, interludes, common-plays, and other unlawful exercises and pastimes; people are forbidden to go out of their own parishes for any amusements. 3° ch. ii. carriers and waggoners are forbidden to travel on the Sunday, and butchers to kill meat.

* Fuller, xi. 151. Heylin's Laud, 328.

star-chamber, they severally put in pleas of such a nature as were not admitted. The prisoners therefore were convicted as not making any defence, though they wished to be allowed to plead for themselves, and were condemned to lose their ears in the pillory, to be imprisoned in remote places during pleasure, and fined 5000*l.* each. Prynne was also branded. Such a punishment produced much more irritation than if they had been sentenced to death: and it so happened that, after having been sent to Guernsey, Jersey, and Scilly, they were, upon the assembling of the long parliament, brought back in triumph, to the disgrace of the court. Their faults, which were great, were overlooked in the indignity of their punishment; and the blame was thrown on the church, because each of their libels had been directed chiefly against the bishops and their government.

§. 563. Williams, who was a turbulent man *, after having been deprived of the office of lord keeper, for which he was probably unfit, had resided at his episcopal house at Bugden, where he allowed of greater freedom in talking about the government, than was well suited to his situation. He was indicted in 1637, for betraying the king's secrets, being a privy counsellor, a charge which was soon dropped, as being frivolous; and another brought against him, of suborning and tampering with witnesses. Whether innocent or no, he en-

* Fuller, xi. 155. Heylin's Laud, 343.

deavoured to escape by offering to make a composition with the king, in which he was prevented by some of his enemies, and sentenced to pay a fine of 8000*l.* and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. In this transaction Laud took an active part, and the bishop afterwards complained that he had not been allowed to impugn the testimonies of the persons brought against him, who, as being king's witnesses, could not be excepted against; that secretary Windebank had caused all those, who would have given evidence in his favour, to be imprisoned under royal warrants till the trial was over; and that those pleas of his, which the court was ashamed to set aside publicly, were overruled in private. Another charge was brought against him while he was in the Tower, which, for the severity of the punishment, and the absurdity of the crime, rivals any thing recorded in history. Lambert Osbolston, sometime student of Christ Church, master of Westminster school, and prebendary of that church, had been much favoured by Williams, who was dean there, and taking part with him in his enmity against Laud, he on some occasion wrote to the bishop a letter which contained the following sentence*: "The little vermin, the urchin, and hocus pocus, "(Laud,) is this stormy Christmas at true and real "variance with the Leviathan," (lord treasurer Weston.) This was found among Williams's papers when his house was searched, and the bishop was sentenced to pay another fine of 8000*l.* for not

* Fuller, 165.

having presented this libellous letter to some justice of the peace: and Osbolston condemned to pay 5000*l*., to have his ears tacked to the pillory in presence of his scholars, as well as to be deprived of all his preferments. The personal part of the sentence he escaped by flight, and his sufferings made him afterwards a favourite with the commons, till the madness of their proceedings induced him to join the king. More perhaps has been said on this point than it deserves: but it must ever appear not only to affix a deep stain on the character of Laud, but to furnish a proof of the personal insecurity under which every man must have lived: and shew how impossible it was that such a government should continue, when a prime minister could be guilty of such open tyranny.

§. 564. As the events connected with the liturgy in Scotland may be said to have formed the first step in the civil war, and to have contributed much to give the rebellion a turn so peculiarly hostile to the church of England, it will be necessary to look back into the history of the reformation in that country, and to touch on some points to which no previous allusion has been made, in order to comprehend the whole under one view. The alterations in the church, which had taken place in that kingdom, had been carried on in opposition to the bishops, who had often made themselves the instruments of the persecutions inflicted on the friends of the reformation; a circumstance * which rendered the mass of

* Sir P. Warwick's Mem. 98, &c.

the people inimical to the order. The nobility too were equally hostile to bishops, since the avarice of the upper ranks had contributed greatly to introduce the reformation, with the view of dispossessing the ecclesiastical owners of their property; and the tenures therefore, by which these possessors held their newly acquired domains, were very doubtful. Elizabeth had fostered the animosities of the people, and the apprehensions of the nobles, for the purpose of keeping up a party in Scotland: and, under the nominal plan of introducing a conformity between the churches of the two nations, had been seeking her own interests, and promoting divisions among the Scotch. The general assembly had, from the first, assumed to itself a considerable power, independent of the government; and in 1566 had decided on the adoption of the Geneva discipline, which virtually destroyed the spiritual authority of the bishops, though they retained in some measure their lands and their seats in parliament. The properties indeed, and the higher situations connected with the abbeys, were generally in the hands of laymen; but the bishoprics were still filled by ecclesiastics. The authority possessed by the bishops varied at different times, depending in a great degree on the policy of the successive regents and favourites of James. Till 1592, the assembly had generally rejected episcopal interference *, and the court retained sufficient power to prevent the legal establishment

* Guthry's Memoirs, p. 4.

of the presbytery. In that year, however, this step was effected, and soon after, in consequence of a tumult in Edinburgh, connected with the presbyterian ascendancy, the life of James was endangered; an event which gave him a continual dislike to that form of church government, and a decided preference to episcopacy, independently of the consideration of the political influence which the votes of the bishops furnished to the court. He obtained for the bishops, in 1597 and 1600, a concession of their right to sit in parliament; but this was fettered with such restrictions as rendered the spiritual authority of the order almost nugatory *, and they accepted what was granted, though they never seem to have conformed to the stipulated conditions; and when he came to the throne of England, he formed the wish of reducing the two churches to an uniformity of discipline and service, a wish reasonable indeed in a king of Great Britain, and in correspondence with the desires of every friend of the two countries, but the plan was not likely to succeed, unless attempted by honourable and fair means.

§. 565. (A. D. 1610.) In the assembly at Glasgow † he so contrived to collect a body suited to his own views, that he carried all his points in favour of episcopacy, and presently set up a court of ecclesiastical commission. Episcopacy, therefore, now began to gain ground ‡, and James was very careful in the selection of the men whom he advanced, con-

* Rapin, ii. 299. † Ibid. ii. 299. ‡ Guthry, p. 13.

sulting the older bishops, and bringing forward such men only as were suited to promote the real interests of the church. It was by these steps that the assembly of St. Andrew's was enabled to consult about introducing a liturgy, (1617.) which some of its members began to form, or rather to copy from the Prayer Book of the church of England: and the assembly of Perth[a] to establish the five points connected with the rites and ceremonies of the church. (1618.) James would probably have gone further, had not the difficulties with regard to his daughter's kingdom prevented his doing any thing which might embroil him at home.

§. 566. On the accession of Charles I.* (1625.) the presbyterians addressed a petition to him, but found that he was not at all disposed to comply with their wishes; the interests of the anti-episcopal cause, however, were kept up by the appointment of a secret fast, which was observed, at stated periods, among their friends throughout the kingdom. (1633.)

[a] These articles are, from their number, which was five, sometimes mistaken for the Five Articles of the synod of Dort, with which they are in no way connected. They are printed in Spotteswood's Hist. of Scotland, p. 538: Neal's Puritans, ii. 101; see also Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. v. 298.

The 1st enjoins the posture of kneeling in receiving the Lord's Supper.

The 2nd allows of private communion in case of sickness,

The 3rd allows of private baptism in case of danger.

The 4th enjoins the use of catechizing and confirmation.

The 5th enjoins the observation of holy days and festivals.

* Guthry, p. 7, &c.

When the king visited Scotland, they had prepared a petition, which they purposed to have presented to him, had he not forbidden the earl of Rothes to do so: and the next year, lord Balmiranoch, having this petition in his possession, which he imprudently shewed to a friend, was imprisoned, and most unjustly condemned to die*. (1634.) a sentence which, though immediately remitted, made him for ever an enemy to the court, and induced him to combine with others, who saw the danger to which the lives and properties of every one must be exposed under so arbitrary a government, and to form plans by which the chief authority might be transferred into their own hands.

These circumstances had enrolled the lovers of civil freedom among the enemies of episcopacy. The prejudices of the common people were against it, and the lower clergy exerted their influence to increase this dislike: the nobles were afraid that their titles to the church property which they held, would be called in question[a], and to this was added a considerable irritation among them, particularly in the earls of Traquair and Argyle (then lord Lorn†) by the appointment of the archbishop of St. Andrew's to the chancellorship, and the advancement of other churchmen to high civil offices. Fuller‡ insinuates

[a] See an Abstract of the Acts of the Scotch Parliament which affected this species of property, passed during this session. (Collier, ii. 755.)

* Guthry's Mem. 9. † Ibid. 12. and Collier, ii. 770. ‡ xi. 163.



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that the bribery which James had carried on among the leading presbyterians now ceased, and that this, among other causes, contributed to the subsequent opposition; and whether this were so or no, it is difficult to determine how much blame attaches to Charles I. in all these proceedings. He had been much less careful than his father* in appointing proper men to the several sees as they became vacant, and in the selection of those whom he chose, he had been guided by personal favour, as well as the hope of promoting his own political ends; and probably much influenced by Laud, who fancied that the advancement of churchmen into the higher offices of state was likely to benefit the cause of the church. But the great evil in Scotland was, that party was allowed to trample on law and justice, so that men sought for power in self-defence; and when further disturbances arose, neither the one side nor the other had any other principles than those of using to the utmost the power with which they were invested. The ruling party was, for the time, generally the most in fault, as having the greater means of doing wrong; and from 1610 to the date of these events, the country had been oppressed by the episcopalians, and their opponents were in secret brooding over their discontent and the prospects of revenge.

§. 567. (A. D. 1637.) It was at this time, and under these circumstances, that Charles† endeavoured

* Guthry, 14. † Fuller, xi. 160.

to introduce the new liturgy. He had originally intended to send down the English Common Prayer Book, but the advice of some of the Scotch bishops had induced him to alter this plan, and to substitute one which might belong peculiarly to themselves, though it corresponded very nearly with that of the church of England[a]. This was drawn up in Scotland*, chiefly, in all probability, by Weederburn, dean of the Chapel Royal, Edinburgh, but overlooked by Laud, Juxton, and Wrenn. In the year 1635 certain canons† had been sent down to Scotland as the first step in the intended alterations; and these, without any other sanction than that of a proclamation from the king, directed throughout that the forms of the liturgy, not then published, should be used. If the king had possessed a right of imposing canons and a liturgy without the concurrence of the church, a right quite incompatible with the political existence of any church, this method of proceeding would have been very impolitic, as it could only irritate the nation, and prepare them for resistance whenever any tumult should give them an opportunity of shewing their dislike. The discontented party had long been in correspondence with the nonconformists in England, and they well knew the strength which their friends possessed in that country. The persons who were chiefly engaged‡ in promoting this step, with regard to the canons

[a] See App. E. History of the Common Prayer, §. 748. b.

* Collier, ii. 767. † Heylin's Laud, 298. ‡ Guthry, 14.

and liturgy, were some of the Scotch bishops who had been most lately raised to their office, and who, having been advanced by interest, not dependent on the older bishops, never cordially joined with them, but hurried on the introduction of the liturgy without foreseeing the danger. Laud* had frequently urged them to take care that their proceedings were according to the law of Scotland, which he did not pretend to understand; but they, supposing probably that the power of the court and the archbishop would carry them through in a point on which the king's heart was much set†, and neglecting the advice of the older bishops, prepared the liturgy and procured its adoption without any of those authorized forms with which it ought legally to have been received.

§. 568. When therefore it was first read at Edinburgh, (July 23,) it is not wonderful that it was received with so much tumult, that the lives of those who performed the service were endangered, and that there was no readiness on the part of the magistrates or nobility to defend the insulted prelates, or to punish those who were guilty of the disturbance. The enemies of episcopacy rejoiced in these failures, and the mass of the nobles, and those in authority, were not sorry to observe the overthrow of a project, which had been carried on without their advice, by churchmen, of whose exaltation into civil offices they were peculiarly jealous. Those among the lower clergy who were friends to episco-

* Heylin's, 326. † Guthry, 16.

pacy, and who probably would have shewn themselves in greater numbers, if the interests of the bishops had been managed with any prudence, were offended that the introduction of the liturgy had been carried on without their advice, or the forms which were necessary to render it legal, and therefore little disposed to befriend or support steps which were thus imprudently taken. After several applications had been made to London, Hamilton, as commissioner from the king, ultimately rescinded all that had been done, convoking a general assembly at Glasgow, and calling a parliament for the next spring. He is generally * accused of duplicity and cunning in all these transactions, and there is some evidence apparently against him; but his line of policy was in reality much sounder than that of Laud, and his fidelity seems adequately established by his subsequent sufferings and death. It is obvious that any friend of the court of Charles I. would have been esteemed a traitor, who had given that advice which we should now deem to have been for the real advantage of the king and the nation: and, be it remembered, that the marquis of Montrose †, who was undoubtedly a patriotic royalist, was at this time on the side of the covenanters. This appellation was assumed by those who were enemies to the liturgy, and to the arbitrary power of the throne, from a solemn league and covenant [a] now

[a] N. B. There were two covenants: the first signed by James I. 1580, and the one here mentioned. They are far

* Guthry, 34. 48. 109. † Ibid. 32—49.

framed, and to which the subscriptions of all those who approved of the cause were affixed. Hardly any steps could have tended more strongly than this, to mix up church politics with civil; for among the various objects of the confederacy, the second was to root out prelacy, i. e. church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy; and the third, to preserve the privileges of parliament and the kingdom. The proceedings of the assembly at Glasgow*, (1638.) were such as might have been expected. The church had been tyran-

from corresponding. They are printed in the Confession of Faith, &c. of the assembly of divines at Westminster. This may be found in Fuller, xi. 201. and in many other historians: the abstract of it is as follows. The preface declares the deplorable state of religion in the three kingdoms to be the origin of this act; in which, after the custom of this and other godly nations, they enter into the following covenant:

1. "That they should reduce the church of England and Ire-
"land to the same model as that of Scotland. They agree—

2. "To extirpate popery, prelacy, and superstition, and to
"establish godliness.

3. "To defend the rights of parliament and the liberty of the
"kingdom, the person, and authority of the king.

4. "To discover and punish all malignants, hinderers of re-
"formation, &c.

5. "To preserve the peace of these kingdoms.

6. "To defend and assist all those who have entered into
"the covenant.

7. "To humble themselves for the sins of the nation, and to
"try to reform them."

* Guthry, 41.

nized over for a time, and when allowed to express its feelings, broke down all barriers, continued its sessions after it had been legally dissolved by the king's commissioner, and went on to rescind at once all that had been established since 1605, i. e. episcopacy, the articles of Perth, the canons, and liturgy. These steps naturally and necessarily led to a civil war. Leslie was appointed to the command of the army which they levied; the castle of Edinburgh fell into their hands, and the king was forced to treat, and make peace with his rebellious subjects.

§. 569. The same steps had been leading silently to the same result in England. The power exercised by Laud, not only disgusted the nobility who might be deemed his rivals, and who found themselves supplanted by churchmen, but the severity exercised by some of the bishops on their nonconformist brethren, was likely to render the lower and more numerous portion of the members of the establishment hostile to the government of the church, and consequently not friendly to that of the state which upheld it. When Laud was made archbishop *, (1633,) he pressed conformity, and attended much to the ceremonies of the church, so that a preacher was censured for saying, that the night was approaching, since shadows were growing so much longer than the bodies, and ceremonies regarded more than the power of godliness. In his eagerness in this respect he not only enforced those cere-

* Fuller, xi. 150.

monies which had been appointed, but took great delight in increasing the number of them. He had put up a crucifix on the altar* in Westminster Abbey at the coronation; had used considerable pomp in the consecration of churches, adopting an office[a] composed by Andrews, bishop of Winchester, which corresponds almost entirely with the service of the church of Rome; had directed the communion tables to be surrounded with rails, and the communicants to approach the altar, and caused various genuflexions and bowings to be used on entering and leaving the church. Most of which ceremonies were in themselves very innocent, and it was natural, at a time when the neglect of them was growing into fashion, that a man of Laud's views should studiously observe them; but it was madness to suppose that the enforcing them would cure the evil, or fail to irritate and augment the disorder. Pure Christianity, when placed near fanaticism or formalism, will ordinarily soon gain the ascendant over either the one or the other, but extremes are little likely to produce a cure to their opposite evils.

§. 570. Laud, however†, was not contented with putting in force the existing laws, or practising such ceremonies as he himself approved: but when, in 1640, Charles was compelled to call a parliament, which he so soon dissolved, to the regret of all good men, the convocation which was then assembled pro-

[a] See an outline of the history of this office, §. 750.

* Collier, ii. 736. † Fuller, xi. 168.

ceeded to frame a body of canons, and continued their session beyond the existence of the parliament These canons were put forth to the world at a moment when every one was ready to cavil at the acts of legitimate authority, and under circumstances which might have rendered them questionable at any other time, inasmuch as it was presumed by many, that upon the dissolution of the parliament its sister assembly ceased at the same moment. The convocation was in fact now changed into a synod, in which capacity, to use the words of lord Clarendon*, it "made canons, which was thought "it might do; and gave subsidies out of parliament, "and enjoined oaths, which certainly it might *not* "do: in a word, did many things, which in the best "of times might have been questioned, and there-"fore were sure to be condemned in the worst; and "drew the same prejudice upon the whole body of "the clergy, to which before only some few clergy-"men were exposed."

The canons themselves are such as prove the violence of those who framed them, and who must have been actuated by despair or fatuity to select such a time for their publication. They enact† that every officiating minister should, on some one Sunday in every quarter, insist on the divine right of kings, and on their prerogatives, in which the power of taxing was indirectly implied. That the day of the king's inauguration should be carefully

* Hist. i. 148. † Sparrow's Collection.

observed. They were very severe against papists, Socinians, and all sectaries. In order to support the establishment, an oath was imposed against innovations, in which every clergyman, or person taking a degree, was to swear, "that he would not consent "to alter the government of the church by arch-"bishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons," &c.; a form sufficiently equivocal, and which acquired for the oath the name of the "*et cætera* oath." It was ordered that the communion table should stand as in the cathedral church; that it should be railed in, and the people approach the holy table when they received: and that on entering and quitting church they should do obeisance. Every preacher was directed to enforce in his sermons, twice every year, conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England[a].

The effects of such a proceeding were obvious. The state of the question between the king and the people at this moment was, whether they should be governed constitutionally by law, or by the arbitrary proceedings of the court: whether they should possess the right of taxing themselves, or whether the security of their property were to depend on the necessities of those who governed them: whether the petition of rights were to be observed or no. Whoever, therefore, among the clergy had followed these canons, as to their spirit, must have taken a

[a] Walker, in his Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 7, supposes that these canons are now as much binding as those of 1603; in this he is mistaken: see §. 756, or the Act 13° C. II. ch. 12.

part in the great question at issue, in favour of the court. The words indeed of the canon are very cautiously chosen, so as to assert in general terms only the right of kings to tribute, custom, and aid, while the property of the subject is secured, a position which no Christian will deny: but the question was, whether the king had a right to collect that tribute as he pleased, and to dispense with the laws of the country.

§. 571. It is difficult to give a distinct view of the feelings of the country with regard either to church or state, without entering into a protracted discussion, which must be little suited to this work; but as it is impossible to understand the condition of the kingdom without doing so, a brief outline must be attempted. Every real friend to his country, who understood the circumstances under which England was then placed, must have desired a reformation, both in church and state. The power of the king was so ill defined, that it was scarcely possible for an honest man to have served him without great compunction; and however little Charles might have wished to play the tyrant, it is difficult for a king to restrain his ministers, if arbitrary power be once placed in their hands. Such a power indeed might be easily borne by the people, were it not for the ramifications to which it is liable; for a monarch, unless he be unbendingly severe on his immediate servants, becomes, against his will, a tyrant to every one of his subjects who are exposed to the arbitrary government of those whom he trusts. The

court of ecclesiastical commission had frequently exercised severity, and sometimes cruelty, on those who were called before it, and the people had indistinctly mixed up the idea of the church government under which they groaned, with episcopacy and the higher offices in the church. It was this which gave rise to the supposed necessity of imposing the *et cætera* oath; and the very nature of that oath tended to countenance the error. Laud and his party were justly alarmed at the spirit of innovation which they beheld; and in their attempts to maintain what was valuable, they were too fearful to allow that any part of the fabric was unsound, and endeavoured to defend the whole, corruptions and all. The honest party, on the other side, who were anxious for the correction of abuses, found that they had no hopes of accomplishing their projected reforms, excepting by breaking down the barriers of what was in itself excellent; but which they were forced to couple with the evils which they wished to remedy, because the same defence was thrown around both: nor can it be doubted, that the enemies of the ecclesiastical constitution rejoiced to perceive the church thus imprudently connected with the errors of the state. The three parties, therefore, in the kingdom, with reference to the church, were, 1, the high church party; 2, those who were desirous to see the church reformed, and the excessive power of the hierarchy diminished[a]; and 3, those who were

[a] Baxter says, Life, i. 33. "Almost all those afterwards called "presbyterians were before conformists;" and 35, "that those

eager to establish the presbyterian government at the expense of the higher offices in the church. This latter party was at first in all probability very small*, till political circumstances augmented their power, and threw the preponderance into their hands: but the impolicy of which Laud was guilty, consisted in alienating the moderate party, and driving them into the interests of the enemies of the state. The same observations will apply with almost equal truth to the political parties which existed in the kingdom: and indeed the whole discussion appears to belong to the state rather than to the church. Episcopacy, presbytery, and independency, were made the watchwords of parties: but the real question throughout was a political one, and took its religious aspect rather from the connexion with Scotland, than because the parties in England were contending about the government of the church. The political reformers attacked the church, partly because a churchman was governing the country, partly because the feelings of the people were irritated against the power of the church as an engine of oppression, and partly because the votes of the bishops gave a preponderance in the house of lords to the friends of the court. The mass

" who were the honour of parliament, were previously con-
" formists. It was an episcopal and Erastian parliament of con-
" formists that took up arms in England against the king;"
(iii. 149.) " they knew but one presbyterian in the house of
" commons."

* Clarendon, ii. 283. Heylin's Laud, 503.

of the country wished perhaps that the episcopal authority should be curtailed, but there was probably no general objection to episcopacy itself.

§. 572. Such seems to have been the state of parties when the long parliament was assembled, (Nov. 6th.) and one of its earliest acts was to appoint a committee of religion*, consisting of the whole house: this subsequently branched off into divers subcommittees, one of which took the appellation of "the committee for providing preaching ministers "and removing scandalous ones[a]." The practical effect of these committees was to intimidate the clergy, as well as to bring them into disrepute: for the mere fact of being brought before a tribunal, usually called "the committee of scandalous minis-"ters," could not fail to load the obnoxious clergyman with a certain degree of obloquy. The crimes which were ordinarily charged on the unfortunate delinquents who were brought before this mock court of justice, were with regard to those ceremonies which by law they were bound to observe; and the reformers who were forward in maintaining the sanctity of the law, when the other party violated it,

[a] The several chairmen of these committees, by whose names they are frequently designated, were, White, Corbet, sir Robert Harlow, sir Edward Dering.

White's was probably the same as that for plundered ministers, formed to provide for such godly ministers as had suffered through the king's soldiery: it was nicknamed "the committee "for plundering ministers." (Walker, Suff. 62—83.)

* Walker's Suff. 62, 63.

were guilty of the same injustice when power fell into their own hands. Indeed one great misfortune during the whole struggle was, that neither side could feel secure under the protection of the laws: the royal prerogative had first taught the people that all bands were too weak to secure their liberty; and when the day of retribution came, the popular faction sought to make themselves safe by overturning the whole power of their adversaries.

§. 573. The chief attacks against the church, during the early session of this parliament, aimed at destroying its civil authority: because, when that was effected, no one could expect to find any great difficulty in overthrowing the whole fabric of the establishment. It is perhaps in the abstract desirable, that men peculiarly dedicated to the service of God should possess as little temporal power as possible, for every act wherein coercive authority is used, must tend to destroy the influence of our spiritual advice, which is the proper province of the clergy: but he must be very ignorant of human nature, who supposes that property can fail to confer power, or that the attempt to take away the power, which is alone able to defend it, can be made without creating an insecurity to the property itself. The attack began by a general outcry against the temporal power of the church; the lord keeper was ordered to leave out the clergy from the commission of the peace; and a bill was brought forward, though without success, to deprive the bishops of their votes in the house of lords. Sir Edward

Dering, indeed, proposed one which would have destroyed at once bishops, deans, and chapters: but the question was moved rather as an experiment to try the house, than from any idea that it would pass. The clamour, however, which was raised by the mob without, and the countenance which they received within the house, at length drove the bench to a step* which led to their final exclusion; for towards the end of the year, the populace of London became so violent against episcopacy, and threatened the lives of the bishops with so much vehemence, that, having been forced one night to fly from the house by stealth, they met together, and signed a protest against any of the proceedings of the house of lords during their forcible and involuntary absence. This document was put into the hands of lord keeper Littleton†, in order to its being produced when it had been approved by the king; but he unadvisedly, if no worse, brought it forward at once, and the poor bishops were sent to the Tower on a charge of high treason; a charge so absurd in itself‡, that one of the lawyers friendly to the parliament declared, that they might as well have been accused of adultery. They were there detained for some time, till deprived of their votes, and presently after of their property. The hardship of these proceedings is described in a very Christian manner by bishop Hall, in the tract here referred to. The coercive power of the spiritual courts had been before

* Fuller, xi. 186. † Hacket's Williams, ii. 178.
‡ Hall's Hard Measure; Wordsw. Ecc. Biog. v. 320.

taken away by the act which deprived the high-commission court of its authority, when its sister power of the star-chamber had justly experienced the same fate. The destruction of these two courts was an act which well deserved the blessing of posterity, and we cannot but lament that these prosperous beginnings were so soon clouded by tyranny and oppression: but it was by the popularity of such acts that the parliament acquired its power, till the wickedness of some of the members, and the weakness of the king, broke down the barriers of right and wrong, and admitted all the miseries which the rebellion introduced.

§. 574. These steps met with less opposition than might have been expected from a nation which, on the whole, seemed favourable to the church; but it may be observed, that they tended only to diminish the power of the hierarchy, and not to its utter destruction. Many friends of episcopacy might be glad to see the bishops dispossessed of their votes in the house of lords, and no friend of religion could be sorry to witness the downfall of the high-commission court; and this was the ultimate point which received the sanction of the king. When the war broke out, the parliament soon found the church, particularly the higher members of the establishment, not only faithful in their allegiance, but earnest in the cause of loyalty; and the consequence was, that they were forced to destroy them as partisans of their enemy; and many more clergymen* were

* Walker, passim.

dispossessed of their preferments as malignants, than as scandalous ministers. These circumstances ruined individual clergymen, and weakened the body; but in all probability the adverse faction would never have been able to alter the constitution, and thus to annihilate the church of England as a church, had not the hopes* of bringing over the Scotch to their cause, ultimately induced those who were anxious to carry their political objects at any rate, to consent to the establishment of a presbyterian government.

§. 575. It might be expected that something should here be said of the growth of a faction which converted the monarchy into a republic, and a church governed by bishops into a presbytery; that some account should be given of the means whereby these steps were accomplished: but after having detailed most of the false measures which connected the church with the downfal of the state; after having premised that the government was such as no wise man could wish to support, while those who were at the head of it resisted all legitimate reform springing from parliamentary discussion, it need hardly be added, that the instruments corresponded with what might naturally have been expected. Factious lecturers and preachers will never be wanting where there are violent parties in the church, and reasonable causes of complaint. Demagogues are the production of every country and period, but they are only dangerous when the sober and thinking part of the population are discontented. The

* Clarendon's Hist. ii. 117.

strong arm of power may put them down for the moment, but a strong arm, unless supported and nourished by a healthy body politic, will tend but to weaken the system, through its unnatural exertions. The nation, by observing abuses, became overheated and restless, and the court dared not feel the pulse of the public by calling a parliament, till the fever was too violent to admit of ordinary remedies. The concessions made by the king in the different acts of parliament which he passed, might have satisfied the kingdom, had they been offered at an earlier period, when they would have been received as a favour; but being, as it were, torn from his grasp by the violence of the houses, the very facility with which they were yielded, made those who had obtained them doubtful whether they were sincerely granted: and the leaders of the commons, with the view of securing their own safety, demanded that the militia should be entrusted to such men as they could confide in, i. e. to themselves; and because the king wisely refused to resign this last bulwark of the throne, they put themselves in a posture of defence, and began the civil war.

§. 576. As the fate of the church depended for a time on the state of the war, it may not be amiss to exhibit a brief outline of its progress, particularly as the complicated nature of such a warfare must render it difficult to acquire an accurate notion of what took place as a whole[a].

[a] The following abstract of the war is taken from Clarendon and Ludlow.

A. D. 1642. August 25. The royal standard was raised at Nottingham *, under most unfavourable prospects; but the loyalty of the nation soon put the king at the head of a respectable force, with which he encountered the earl of Essex at Edge-hill, and gained a considerable advantage over him. (Oct. 23.) This gave the royalists the command of the centre of the kingdom, and established their head-quarters at Oxford, a town peculiarly well suited for carrying on the war, as well from the influence of the place itself, as the associations fixed in the minds of many of those who were destined to take a part in the contest. It was too, from its central position, in a military point of view, an acquisition of no slight importance. His majesty afterwards advanced towards London, (Nov. 13.) where he was engaged for some days at Brentford; but the citizens, supported by the remnant of Essex's army, contrived to defend the ground which they had occupied, and he was forced to retire to Oxford, leaving a garrison at Reading.

§. 577. (A. D. 1643.) In the next spring the parliament were able to recover Reading, but the general appearance of the contest was decidedly against them. In the west, sir R. Hopton had made himself master of the open country, and proceeded to aid the royal forces in taking Bristol; (July 25;) and had not the king foolishly wasted time in the siege of Gloucester, there would probably have been no army sufficiently strong to prevent his

* Clarendon, i. 720.

marching to London. This delay, however, allowed the parliament to collect a considerable body of troops; and when (Sept. 5.) they advanced towards the royal army, the siege was raised, and the first battle of Newbury (Sept. 20.) subsequently fought, which obliged the king, though he was not beaten, to retire upon Oxford, instead of prosecuting the campaign.

§. 578. (A. D. 1644.) In the beginning of the next year the Scotch army began its march southward. They had been urged and invited so to do by commissioners sent down for this express purpose, who, on their return to London *, brought back with them the solemn league and covenant, which the Scotch were particularly anxious to enforce on their English brethren. The English wished to have made a civil alliance, but the presbyterians would consent to no terms without the alteration of the church government; and the necessities of the parliament induced them to consent to this unreasonable proposal. Up to this period, the war was in favour of the king, and in the beginning of this very year, the relief of Newark, (March 22,) by prince Rupert, and his other successes, made the general aspect continue so, till the loss of York, after the battle of Marston Moor, (July 2,) reduced the whole of the north of England under the power of the parliament. The marquis of Newcastle had been exerting himself in the preservation of the interests of the

* Neal's Puritans, iii. 56.

king, not only against the forces which were raised in the north of England for the parliament, but against the Scotch army, under Leslie, and was besieged by them in York. Prince Rupert had succeeded in throwing relief into the place, and all might have done well, had he been wise enough to have been contented with this; but in his hasty anxiety to gain a victory, which, if won, could produce little effect, he put the whole to the issue of a battle, lost it, and with it, not only York, but the whole of the king's interests in that part of the country. This blow might have been fatal to the whole cause, had it not been balanced by the surrender of the forces of the earl of Essex *, in the west, who, having proceeded too far in that direction, was cooped up at Fowey, (Sept. 2.) in Cornwall. As for himself, he was obliged to retire by sea; his cavalry cut their way through the enemy, and his foot were made prisoners. And even this success on the part of the king was on his return towards Oxford counteracted by the second battle of Newbury, (Oct. 27.) where the earl of Manchester, and Waller, met him; and after a very brisk encounter, in which both sides suffered much, scarcely any advantage was gained by either.

§. 579. The fate of the war was even now, in a great degree, undecided, as far as fighting was concerned; but the parliament had learnt their faults, and discovered the remedy for them, while the evils which accompanied the army of the king daily in-

* Neal's Puritans, iii. 89.

creased. The discipline of the troops of both parties had from the first been exceedingly bad. The royal army was composed of a gallant band of armed and mounted gentry, who at the moment when they charged were every thing which a general could desire; but at other times subject to very little control, and almost ungovernable when they had met with success, or experienced a reverse of fortune. The stern severity exhibited by the puritans induced the royalists to despise even the form of godliness; so that to be religious, and a gentleman, became, in the opinion of the multitude, contradictory terms: the chief officers themselves were guilty of the grossest vices, particularly of drunkenness; and the lawless proceedings of the troops alienated the minds of many of the people from the royal cause: a state of things which engendered contention among those who should have governed, and disobedience among those who should have obeyed. The soldiers of the parliament were collected chiefly by the hopes of pay, and when they had gained advantages in the field, they were apt to turn them to their personal profit, a species of fault which was much more easily cured, than the disorganization which prevailed among the other party; while the appearance of strict religion which was maintained among them, answered many of the purposes of military discipline. But the alteration which now took place in the management of the interests of the parliament, produced an entire change in the whole face of their affairs.

§. 580. Essex had probably wished to become the arbitrator of the war* rather than to conquer the king: he foresaw that the complete success of either party must lead to the destruction of the constitution; this produced a want of decision in his counsels, and led to disgrace in the field, while his ill success perhaps contributed much to the facility with which the self-denying ordinance passed. The country had long been scandalized by the interested manner in which offices were assigned to the members of the two houses, and the act which received this denomination consisted in a vote which disabled all who sat in either house from holding any situation of power or emolument. The step was on many grounds necessary, since the parliament was even now becoming intolerable from its tyranny and selfishness; but it enabled those who were secretly promoting their own advancement, to remodel the army according to their own wishes, and to raise up a power which ultimately overcame the party which employed it. It is difficult to account for the ease with which Cromwell retained his command in the army, together with his seat in the house, unless indeed we conclude that he was the secret contriver of the whole: but the wisdom of this arrangement soon became evident; for when the army in its new state took the field, it was obvious that the prospects of the royal party were annihilated. Fairfax seems to have possessed much military talent, but to have

* Life of Col. Hutchinson, i. 347. Calamy's Baxter, 53.

been too honest a man to enter deeply into the cabals of the rebellion; he kept his men in order, beat his enemies when he met them, and was ever ready to give them, when beaten, the best terms which the interest of his own party would allow. Cromwell was equally good as an officer, but he understood human nature, and was willing to leave no stone unturned to accomplish the object which he had probably now begun to entertain. He had clearly seen from the first that an embodied gentry [a] must easily surpass in the field troops composed of mechanics and servants; but he perceived, and taught the world, that religion, tinctured with fanaticism, was a more powerful motive of action than a sense of honour; and that the love of freedom, with which the yeomen of the country were then inspired, was at least as powerful a stimulant as the desire of dominion, which animated the nobility and royalists. He had always shewn that he was no friend to half-measures, and his talents had given confidence to those whom this circumstance united to his interests; when, therefore, the self-denying ordinance had cleared away many who were looking to a compromise, the opposite party might succeed in con-

[a] In this contest the generality of the nobility, most of the knights and gentry, adhered to the king, and were followed by their tenants and the poorer sort of people; with the parliament were the smaller part of the upper orders, and the greater of the tradesmen, freeholders, and middle sort of men, particularly in manufacturing corporations, together with those who were more precise in religion. (Calamy's Baxter, 46.)

tinuing the command of one who had taken no prominent part in the business of the house, and who was known to possess so much skill as a soldier.

§. 581. (A. D. 1645.) The campaign of Fairfax [a] was short and brilliant: he proceeded from London in the spring, threatened Oxford with a siege, but soon followed the motions of the king. Charles, finding himself unexpectedly in the neighbourhood of the enemy, it was determined to risk a battle: and the precipitancy of prince Rupert, as on many other occasions, contributed to lose the battle of Naseby, (June 14,) a loss which destroyed all the prospects of the royalists. Fairfax now proceeded to the west, and rapidly reduced every thing under his command. This so utterly dispirited the king, who had been wandering about as far as Wales, and had returned to Oxford with little hopes of assistance, that the next spring he put himself into the hands of the Scotch, and sent an order to the governor of Oxford to surrender the place, and the war was terminated in favour of the parliament. The fate of the royal cause had indeed long been decided by the mutual jealousies with which this party was distracted. The mass of those who composed the court were contending for honours, and indulging in mutual

[a] The whole of this war is fully detailed in Sprigge's Anglia Rediviva, a work which is sometimes attributed to Nathaniel Fiennes. It is observed by Baxter, (Life, p. 49.) that the commission of Fairfax now omitted the words "in defence of the "king's person," and so changed the cause of the war.

disputes, when the enemy was preparing to swallow them up; and Charles had never energy or firmness enough to take the command of the whole into his own hands, or to place it at the disposal of any other efficient person. The headlong gallantry of prince Rupert was of serious inconvenience to the cause, but by no means so injurious as the want of confidence in himself, under which the king laboured, and which prevented him from assuming that authority which might have restrained the turbulence of his party; nor is it rash to assert, that his majesty would probably have directed his own counsels as well, or better than any other individual engaged in the contest, had he only been decided and firm.

§. 582. It is difficult to conceive the state of a country more wretched than that of England during this period. There was war raging in every corner of the land; the movements of the armies, indeed, were comparatively confined, but the preparations for the contest, and the bitterness of it, were spread over the whole. There was much of virtue marshalled on both sides, and both sides were supported by a host of selfish and interested partisans. The first exertions of the parliament were the struggles of freemen too eager to vindicate their rights; but they soon outstepped the lines which freedom should have dictated, and violated every principle of justice in murdering lord Strafford, under the form of a bill of attainder; and impeaching Laud of treason, of which he was undoubtedly innocent. Lord Straf-

ford had[a] been guilty of such an exercise of arbitrary power and tyranny, as might fairly have disqualified him from holding any subsequent command. He had himself trampled on law: the lesson was easily learnt by his opponents; and Charles, by giving way to the unjustifiable bill for his attainder, and perpetuating the parliament, embittered the remainder of his own life; and, by consigning his friend and servant to the block, prepared the scaffold for himself. The case of Laud was different from that of Strafford, both in his criminality and in his sufferings. The difficulty of estimating the character of Laud consists in our being unable to determine the standard by which his conduct is to be measured. If we regard him as a Christian bishop, the picture will be in many respects sadly deficient; to look upon him merely as a statesman, is to degrade the sacred office with which he was invested; to view him only as a man, is to divest him of all that is worth examining, and to pass sentence concerning those particulars on which God only is the judge. On whatever ground he is placed, the opinions and the prejudices of the writer can hardly fail to mix themselves up in the estimate: none but a churchman could write a life of Laud, and few churchmen are sufficiently free from the same feelings as prevailed in his day, to form the estimate fairly. A temperate life of the

[a] See some excellent observations on this trial in Phillips's State Trials.

archbishop would be a most valuable acquisition to the Church History of our country.

§. 583. Laud was a man of an upright heart and pious soul, but of too warm a temper, and too positive a nature, to be a good courtier, a good ruler, or perhaps a good man. The great objects which he had in view were such as every honest man would approve, but his method of pursuing those objects produced much of the misfortunes with which these unhappy times were marked. The times wherein he lived were fraught with the utmost difficulty, and the experience of past ages had given those who were engaged in governing the kingdom no clue which might extricate them from these difficulties. The nation had arrived at that point wherein it was necessary that it should become free or be enslaved. A powerful government, such as that of Elizabeth, might have delayed the catastrophe, or have thrown the country backward into a lower moral and intellectual condition, by riveting the chains of slavery; but an arbitrary government cannot exist with an enlightened people, and a government could hardly fail to be arbitrary, which possessed two such courts as the star-chamber and high-commission. The church was attacked on all sides; but it is more than probable that the temporal power of the higher members of it was the chief cause of these attacks. Laud saw the danger, and in order to defend the establishment, and to give it strength, he tried to advance churchmen into offices of power and author-

ity. In Scotland* the archbishop of St. Andrew's was through his means made lord chancellor, and several of the bishops privy counsellors; with this view he himself became a commissioner of the treasury; and when he had made Juxton lord treasurer, he writes in his diary†, "And now if the church will "not hold up themselves, under God, I can do no "more." The consequence was, that the church became hated by the people; and a body possessed of property which is generally disliked, can hardly be preserved in times of civil commotion. Laud foresaw perhaps the danger to which religion would be exposed, if the violent decisions of the synod of Dort‡ generally prevailed: he foresaw perhaps the tendency towards the presbyterian government, which the Calvinists were creating, and he endeavoured to counteract it by advancing those only who were in their theological sentiments opposed to this party: thereby concentrating against the high church all the strength of those who differed from him on the five points, and who could never hope to obtain any promotion, unless the whole principles of the men who had now the ascendency were overturned[a]. Moderate churchmen, who were suspected of favouring Calvinism, were driven into the party

[a] When a new list of chaplains was made out for the court, Laud was directed to mark them severally with an O or P, as being orthodox or puritan. (Collier's Hist. ii. 733.)

* Clarendon, i. 85—87. † p. 53. ‡ §. 520.

which Laud was trying to destroy, and added to its strength; and there was a further danger, that every religious man would be called a Calvinist, and thus forced to rank himself as hostile to the archbishop.

Laud perceived that there was a growing disinclination to ceremonies, and in order to remedy the evil he enforced them with severity. He was an arbitrary and stout man, and he dared any one to oppose his authority: and this unfortunately converted unimportant trifles into serious matters of dispute. The nonconformists were probably the more guilty of the two parties, in giving importance to ceremonies: but they who punished them were certainly not wise in enforcing the observance of outward rites, till obedience was converted into a real scruple of conscience. By a singular combination of these several causes, it so happened, that religion appeared to be marshalled against the stability of the royal government, and that men were led to believe, that they were engaged in the cause of God, while they were taking measures which must tend to throw down and trample on the authority which God had given to the king. As a minister of the crown, Laud beheld with dismay an influence which he knew not how to control, and was alarmed at the growing power of the parliament; so that he did his utmost to prevent the necessity of assembling any future one, and justified himself in his own mind, because he fancied that the king had performed the whole of his duty, in having suffi-

ciently tried the temper of that assembly. When, therefore, the archbishop found that the parliament, if assembled, insisted on the redress of abuses before they would grant any supplies, he exerted himself in raising money by every means within his reach. As his policy thus became arbitrary, he found no lack of persons who were ready to advocate and promote his plans; and it happened, as it always will happen in such cases, that he imagined his forward instruments to be following their own zeal, while they were but observing his, and trying, from interested motives, to gain his favour by outstripping the energy of his measures: of course such supporters fled from him when the hour of difficulty arrived. In one sense his proceedings were legal, for he endeavoured in every case to observe the law so far as to have it on his side; but he had no scruple in making the law bend to his wishes.

§. 584. The charges of treason which were exhibited against him are too absurd to merit much discussion. He had doubtless tried to render the government as arbitrary as he could, not to overthrow the constitution; he had endeavoured to alter the church of Scotland; and these were sufficient reasons why the people of England might dislike him as a prime minister, but amounted no more to treason than to any other crime. Of many of the offences with which he was charged, he was undoubtedly innocent; he was free from the very thought of bribery, and hostile to the pretensions and errors of the church of Rome: but because he did not wish to

exterminate Roman catholics, he was called a papist; because he approved of some of the ceremonies of the Roman ritual, he was esteemed anxious to introduce her peculiar tenets into the kingdom. He probably* wished to effect some sort of compromise with that church; a step, perhaps, little to be desired, provided Christian charity prevail between us, and less to be hoped for, while she maintains her claims to supremacy and infallibility; and so sensible was that court of his friendly intentions† towards peace, that he was twice offered a cardinal's hat. But if he were guilty of ten times as much as this, it was no treason. He had made himself justly obnoxious to the dislike of the true friends of civil and religious liberty, and he was persecuted even unto death, by men who had learnt to disregard both the one and the other. He had often, perhaps, perverted the course of justice; but the course of justice was never more sadly perverted than when he was consigned to the block. In his conduct, as a man, there was much of littleness, much of an unchristian temper. In his diary there is a constant reference to dreams and other portents; and his treatment of Williams and Osbolston, as well as of many others, precludes the possibility of supposing that he was not influenced by personal feelings of revenge. In his defence he generally argues that the act objected to him was the common decision of the council, and sometimes justifies himself as having been guided by

* Fuller, xi. 217. † Heylin's Laud, 253.

the king: this method might secure him against any legal punishment, but could never furnish him with a fair excuse, since the influence of such a prime minister must have been more than adequate to sway the council; and at all events, to bring forward such a defence takes from him the character of a hero, with which the circumstances in which he was placed might naturally invest him. As it was, he did not save his own life; and had he taken up a greater line of defence, had he justified his general conduct, on the grounds of those violences which had since verified the predictions of his own foreboding mind, he would have maintained a position which sound reasoners might believe to be untenable, but which every one must have acknowledged to have been nobly taken up. After all, however, he was a great man, in heart and intention sincerely a friend to the church, and a noble patron of learning. Had he fallen into other times, his character might have shone as one of the brightest luminaries of our country; had he pursued a different line of policy, and endeavoured to soften down the asperities of party feeling in that reformation of church and state, which was absolutely required, he might have been held up as the preserver of the establishment; whereas he was, perhaps more than any other individual, the secret cause of its destruction. He was possessed of enormous power, and, as he feared the popular nature of innovations, he threw the full weight of his influence into the opposite scale, and endeavoured to prevent them. He must not perhaps

be regarded as the enemy of real reforms[a], but he did not perceive that the spirit of the times might have been guided, but could not be controlled; and that reforms which proceed from those in authority are almost always safe, and generally beneficial; so that he continued to support abuses till the whole fabric of the state was overwhelmed in their ruin, and he himself buried in their downfall. Laud was never so great as while labouring under the oppressions of the parliament; he bore all their unjustifiable conduct (and few men have been treated worse) with a quiet composure, which his genuine religion afforded; and thanked God for having given him patience to endure that which his providence had laid upon him.

§. 585. The proceedings which have been already described, tended only to the destruction of what had previously existed in church and state. The royal authority was first resisted, and then thrown down by the power of the sword. The bishops had been first frightened from sitting in the house of lords, and then, under the form of law, deprived of their votes. When the war began, they were declared delinquents for continuing their fidelity to the king, robbed of their property, and at length extirpated by the same ordinance (Jan. 1643) which

[a] See the instructions sent forth by his advice, in 1629, to bishops; and which, though they give particular directions about lecturers, &c. yet are well calculated to reform the bishops themselves. They relate to residing within their sees, triennial visitations, &c. (Heylin's Laud, p. 199.)

destroyed all cathedral establishments. A proposal had been made by archbishop Usher*, in 1641, when the first committee on church affairs was formed, to constitute such a species of government as should embrace the advantages possessed by episcopacy as well as the presbytery. The clergyman, together with the churchwardens and sidesmen, were to compose a body for the direction of the parish. Chorepiscopi, or bishops rural, were to be established in every rural deanery, who should hold monthly assemblies. These were to be subjected to the power of the diocesan synod, and that to the provincial or national convocation. This system would have given the authority of a body to the discipline of the church administered by them: and the bishop or his delegate would in each case have been the legitimate president of the several boards: this plan, however, never took effect.

The desolation which had been caused by the war, was peculiarly felt with respect to the appointment of ministers who might fill the vacant cures; and as the bishops could not attempt to supply the deficiency thus created, the parliament were obliged to frame some sort of church government, which might succeed the one destroyed by them. They could hardly venture to interfere with the affairs of the church without the sanction of some sort of ecclesiastical authority, and they therefore had recourse to a body, which, from the anomalous nature of its constitution, was not likely to raise any very

* Calamy's Baxter, 149. Collier, ii. 871, &c.

decided opposition to such plans of amendment as they might think fit to adopt. With these views they called together the general assembly of divines at Westminster [a], a collection of men connected with the ministry, who might form a council for the parliament on such subjects pertaining to the church, as might be proposed to them by the two houses. They were not a convocation summoned according to any of the forms or principles which regulate that body. They resembled not the presbyterian synod, for there was not even the semblance of their being elected by their brethren; but consisted of such persons from the several counties, as the members of the two houses chose to congregate for their own assistance in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters. The clergymen thus convoked amounted to about one hundred and twenty, and to these, thirty lay members were added, consisting of ten peers, and twice as many commoners, who possessed an equal share in the debates, and equal votes with the former. Many of the members, who were thus called on to join a party at open war with their sovereign, declined any connexion with their proceedings; but the majority, being all nominated by the two houses, lent their assistance to the cause of rebellion, and the places of those who did not engage in this affair were quickly filled up by the superadded members. They met for the first time in Henry VIIth's chapel, on Sunday, July 1st, 1643.

[a] This account of the assembly of divines at Westminster is almost wholly taken from Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii.

§. 586. The members of whom this body was composed may be divided into three heads; the episcopalians, the presbyterians, and the independents. The first and last indeed formed but a very small part of the numerical force of the assembly, and this small number was soon diminished by the secession of the episcopalians, who were virtually excluded, by being called on to take the solemn league and covenant: for though an alteration was made in the terms of that document *, for the purpose of reconciling the friends of a moderate episcopacy, yet it was obvious that no one who had any regard for the church of England could long continue to act with men, who were bent upon destroying her sacred fabric root and branch. The contest, therefore, lay between the presbyterians and independents, and the numerical superiority possessed by the former rendered the struggle of the other party hopeless from the very first; a preponderance which the coalition with the Scotch exceedingly augmented. These two parties agreed in their aversion to the jurisdiction which the bishops had held over them, but they were little suited to any real cooperation.

§. 587. The presbyterians maintain that their discipline is derived purely from the conduct of the apostles, as exhibited in the word of God, and challenged a divine authority for their platform, with an exclusive dogmatism, which nothing but an express command of Omnipotence could sanction. According to their hypothesis, every parish forms a

* Neal, iii. 58.

little republic of its own. The minister and lay-elders constitute a body politic for its domestic government: a certain number of these, by a delegated authority, compose the classical assembly, which in its turn sends members to the provincial synod. These are under the superintendence of the national synod, and that in its turn is subject to the œcumenical. The system is well framed for giving considerable energy to its decrees, and for maintaining a due subordination among the several bodies, but is liable to great abuse by the enormous power which is thrown into the hands of the individual clergyman; and had this discipline ever been introduced, without any of those checks which could restrain its operation, the people of England would soon have learnt that the episcopal jurisdiction * which they had reduced, was little to be compared with the tyranny of that which they had established †.

§. 588. It is less easy to give any distinct account of the independents, since the name comprehends every species of Christians who hold the same opinion of the independence of each separate body of Christians. According to this hypothesis, wherever a congregation is assembled, into which the several members are admitted, and from which an exclusion may take place, there will exist a full and independent church, neither connected with, or dependent on, any other body of Christians. There is perhaps in the abstract no absurdity in this tenet, but the slightest knowledge of human nature would

* Collier's Church Hist. ii. 866. † See §. 591. a.

shew, that nothing but an immediate guidance from Heaven, or the perfection of the individual members, could keep out the grossest heresies from societies thus constituted: and there are perhaps few errors which may not be detected among those who have denominated themselves independents. Liberty of conscience was the standard around which they rallied; and when the more sober independents found this assaulted by the presbyterians, they were forced to summon to their aid the assistance of every separatist, however strange his opinions might be. Nor, when supported by this force, would they have had any probability of success, if the temporal power which the presbyterians assumed, had not rendered their form of ecclesiastical government incompatible with the dominion which Cromwell was endeavouring to establish.

There was another faction, which though not directly advocated as a party in the assembly, found very able supporters among individuals on both sides, and met with the strongest cooperation from the prepossessions of the mass of those who were invested with civil authority. The Erastians were so called from Thomas Erastus *, M. D. a native of Baden, who became professor at Heidelberg. They maintained that the clergy should be possessed of no coercive power, that they might persuade the vicious, and try to reform the profligate, but that every species of punishment, whether civil or religious, was vested in the civil magistrate alone.

* Fuller, xi. 213.

§. 589. The first task in which the members of the assembly were engaged, was the alteration of the Thirty-nine Articles[a]; and they had proceeded as far as the fifteenth, when the political connexion with Scotland, and the arrival of commissioners from that country, imposed the covenant upon the nation; a step which created a necessity for much greater changes, and turned their attention to the new modeling of the whole of the church government.

The most important question*, and one which was agitated with the greatest warmth, was respecting the nature of congregations generally, as forming the essential difference between the presbyterians and independents. In this discussion Lightfoot and Selden joined with the greatest earnestness, and brought forward their great learning, to shew

[a] The Articles in their altered state are printed in the Appendix to Neal, (vol. v. p. liii.) No. 7, in columns parallel with the original Articles. The chief differences are, III. The "descent "into hell" is explained as "being under the dominion of "death." VI. All mention of the Apocrypha is omitted. VIII. On the three Creeds, is wholly omitted. IX. "Very far gone "from original righteousness," is changed into "wholly de-"prived of." XI. The imputation of Christ's obedience and satisfaction to us is introduced; and that God will not forgive the impenitent. XIII. "Inspiration of his Spirit" is rendered, "regeneration of his Spirit." "They have the nature of sin" is rendered, "they are sinful." N.B. This last change of expression takes place in the ninth. The several clauses in these Articles are accompanied with references to the texts on which they are founded.

* Lightfoot's Genuine Remains, p. xxv.

that the church at Jerusalem must have consisted of more congregations than one, and that the appeal from the church of Antioch would never have been made to that at Jerusalem, had they esteemed themselves an independent community. It is almost unnecessary to add, that the presbyterians carried their point; and indeed it is difficult to conceive any national establishment founded on independent principles. The presbyterians * wished that the divine right of their own form of church government should have been officially recognised, but this absurdity was obviated by a judicious motion of Whitelock, which recommended it generally, without touching on this delicate question. Whatever might have been the decision of these divines, it was probable that Erastian principles † must have prevailed, at least in the house of commons; for, when the ordinance for suspending ignorant and scandalous persons from the Lord's Supper was passed, an appeal from the decision of the elders was allowed to take place ‡, which ultimately fell under the cognizance of the parliament; and all members of either house were, in such places as they resided, *ex officio* triers of the competency of the candidates for admission into the offices of the church. This point was more immediately brought into discussion § by the necessity of ordaining some ministers, in order to fill up the vacancies which various circumstances had occasioned in the church.

* Neal's Pur. iii. 236. † Ibid. 240. ‡ Ibid. 246—248. § Ibid. iii. 126.

Many of the orthodox divines had been driven from their cures, and the bishops, who had alone power to appoint new members, were all opposed to the proceedings of the parliament. The house had at first committed to the assembly an authority for approving of such ministers as were nominated to the several cures, but they soon found that a much more extensive supply was required; while their interest plainly pointed out the wisdom of introducing their own friends into situations, which were likely to prove so influential on the opinions of the public. When, therefore, there appeared much difficulty in settling any thing definitely, an ordinance was made, which conveyed to the assembly, *pro tempore*, the power of ordaining. The same ordinance was subsequently continued for three years, and then made perpetual.

§. 590. The works which this assembly gave to the public are the more interesting, because they have been retained as the authorized guide to those of our countrymen who still adopt the presbyterian form of church government. They consist of a Directory for worship and ordination; of a Confession of Faith; and two Catechisms, the larger and the shorter. Besides these, there is a form of presbyterian church government agreed upon by the assembly, but never authorized.

The Directory, as its name imports, does not itself contain a form of prayer, but gives the outline of such a service as every minister was left to himself to frame: a method which apparently offers

some advantages, when the person officiating is possessed of any very peculiar talent for such compositions, but even then must always make the congregation depend on his abilities in a way far beyond what is desirable; but in the ordinary course of things, is liable to most serious objections, and must virtually tend to prevent all public devotion, since either the individual will relinquish the plan of extempore composition by constantly using a form of his own, (and this can hardly be expected to be so good as one composed by persons selected for the purpose,) or his varying expressions will be apt to confuse the less enlightened part of his hearers.

The points on which the Directory essentially[a] differs from the service of the church of England are, that the lessons are read consecutively from Sunday to Sunday, and the Apocrypha is entirely omitted. The use of sponsors in baptism, and of the ring in marriage, is dispensed with; in the visitation of the sick nothing is said of confession or absolution; and the burial of the dead is accompanied with no religious rite. The rules about ordination are peculiarly indefinite; and the power vested in the hands of the presbytery seems to lie open to the admission of almost any one, provided he would take the covenant, and could satisfy his examiners of the evidence of his calling to the ministry, and of the grace of God which was in him.

[a] The word *essentially* is used, since, under the directions given in the Directory, the church of England service might be employed, except in these particulars.

It is not indeed stated how this last particular was to be ascertained, and there must always be great danger of hypocrisy, when men become the witnesses of their own qualifications on points which admit of no definite proof.

The chief peculiarity of the doctrinal works is the prominence with which the tenet of predestination is brought forward. The confession* of faith, however, is not exactly the same, as only part of it was authorized by parliament[a].

§. 591. The recommendations of the assembly†, with regard to church government, are embodied in a tract which has been mentioned as published among their other works, and which, though approved of by the church of Scotland, never received any authority from the parliament. According to this, the officers of the church consist of pastors, teachers, other governors, and deacons. There seems no other difference between the two first, than as they mark out different duties of the same office. They constitute the only individuals who, in ordinary language, are called ministers, and are invested not only with the power of teaching, but combine in their persons a judicial authority, and, in conjunction with the elders, possess the right of expelling

[a] These works are frequently to be met with in a small 24mo. vol. neatly printed. The solemn league and covenant, as well as the former covenant, form a part of the same little book. The Directory is also printed in the appendix to Neal, No. 8. p. lxiii.

* Neal, iii. 320. † See §. 587.

from the sacrament. It is in this that the chief difference exists between the episcopalian and presbyterian form of church government[a], with regard to discipline over the laity. The minister of the church of England may exclude, for the time[*], an offending brother from the sacrament; but then he is bound (within fourteen days, by the Rubric introduced after the Savoy Conference) to inform the bishop, who is to proceed against the offender: so that it will be necessary for the clergyman so repelling, to have good grounds for all he does, and to be able to prove his charge. Whereas by the presbyterian authority, the minister, together with the lay elders, is the judge of the propriety of such excommunication, and it remains with the offending party to appeal to the higher tribunal of a superior court, of which the clergyman in question may happen to be an influential member; at all events, the person expelled will have to prove the original excommunication to have been wrong, and be subject to the *onus*

[a] In episcopal government the bishop is judge; in presbyterian, the minister and elders. If an episcopalian clergyman quarrel with any of his parishioners, he cannot excommunicate them without proving them guilty before a court, over which he has no control, and which has a control over him. The presbyterian might excommunicate *proprio jure*, and the party excommunicated must appeal, and the appeal would, in each case, lie to a court of which the clergyman might be a member, and therefore a judge in his own cause. The whole question of excommunication is one of great difficulty. Some good may arise from it in preventing scandal; but very little with regard to the offending party. See Baxter's own Life, i. p. 92.

[*] Rubric for the Lord's Supper.

*probandi.* Thus, whatever might have been the tyranny of bishops, the people would have gained little by erecting a bishopric in every parish. The other governors, or lay elders, were to compose a kind of council for the pastor, and are copied from the institutions of the Jewish church. Deacons* were, in strict conformity with their original appointment, persons selected to take care of the temporal wants of the indigent, a sort of overseers of the poor[b].

§. 592. This form of church government was nowhere established except in London and Lancashire, and was never invested with such authority as its friends demanded, since an ultimate appeal lay to the parliament. This was rendered absolutely necessary from the power which this body would otherwise have possessed, and which, had it been allowed to exert all the civil influence of which it was capable, might have proved as tyrannical to the republic as it did to James I, while he was subjected to its sway in Scotland. It is curious to observe the earnestness with which its advocates attacked this restrictive check, which the parliament were wise enough never to take off. The assembly of divines petitioned against it; the Scotch sent commissioners and remon-

[b] For further particulars concerning the presbyterian discipline, see §. 587. and a note in Rapin, ii. 297; printed also in Neal, iii. 323; or the Burden of Issachar, printed in the Phœnix, ii. 260. There is a nice Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland, published 1830, in Edinburgh.

* Acts, vi.

strated; but the amendments of the latter were burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and the assembly were informed that they had incurred a præmunire, by discussing subjects which were not proposed to them by the houses, and were requested to prove, from scripture, that the authority which they claimed was a *jus divinum*, and clearly established by the word of God. We have before seen the probable argument in favour of episcopacy*, which, if not perfectly convincing, is at all events much stronger than that for the presbytery, inasmuch as the voice of all authentic history concurs in establishing the fact, that at an early period bishops were a distinct order in the church, a point which the other party can never establish in favour of presbyterian government without them. And though these queries "*de jure divino*"† were answered by some individual ministers assembled at Sion college, yet they remained with the assembly without a reply, till the whole fabric was destroyed by the prevalence of independency.

§. 593. The tendency of the system of the independents was such, that under it no established religion could exist in the state, since every teacher, who was not deficient in life and good morals, might assemble a congregation wherever he pleased; and every society, having the means of excluding an offensive member from its communion, might be deemed a church to all intents and purposes. Any member of any religious community, who was ejected

* Sect. 460. † Neal, iii. 279.

from one society, might enrol himself in another; so that the coercive discipline of the church was reduced to a mere nothing. It must be remembered that the church of England possesses in the bishops' courts a very considerable authority for the reformation of manners; that, at the period of which we are speaking, this was constantly exercised; and that the court of high-commission, by supporting and aiding the minor courts, and sometimes by superseding their authority, rendered the ecclesiastical discipline formidable, and in some cases oppressive. In the presbyterian government the authority was placed in lower hands, but by no means diminished; and in both cases civil punishments were the consequence of neglecting ecclesiastical censures. The point at issue, then, on the part of the independents was, whether there should be any coercive discipline at all; and it was perhaps natural, that an army, which had conquered the king, should not quietly surrender themselves to the rule of their priests. Religion, real or pretended, had contributed much to preserve the discipline of the army; and they who in the field guided the sword of the flesh, took upon them in the camp to use that of the Spirit, so that almost all the good officers of the parliament army became, by degrees, great preachers. The presbyterian form of church government is very republican, and it was partly from this reason that the republican party in the state favoured its establishment, though they never allowed it to possess an authority independent of themselves. When the

army had subdued the king, the republicans wished them to lay down their arms; but, in the division of spoil among robbers, it is difficult to say nay to him who has the power in his own hands. The presbyterian ministry favoured the form of government which was best suited to themselves, and which their party deemed the legitimate authority of the country; but the army, with their preachers, were ready to say, in spiritual as well as temporal concerns, "Who shall be lord over us?" It is impossible, as it was before observed, to state the exact nature of independency*; every separate church may vary, but the principle of it is to destroy the existence of any priesthood at all. The presbyterian establishment continued till the restoration, though it was shorn of its glory, and the bonds of its union and strength were broken.

The only place where the independents† had the power of establishing a church government of their own was in Wales; but what was there done, was accompanied with so much manifest dishonesty, that it can hardly be admitted as a specimen of their principles‡.

§. 594. Liberty of conscience was the aim of the independents, who wished also to subject the ministry to the power of the state. They may be identified with the army to a certain degree, as the presbyterians became the same body with the republicans; and the struggle which remained lay be-

* Neal, iv. 172. † Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, i. 147—169. ‡ See §. 608.

tween these two confederate bands. The king, by surrendering himself to the Scotch, who were combined with the presbyterians, became indirectly the prisoner of the parliament, till the army got possession of him through the violent seizure of his person by Cornet Joyce: both these parties possessed many individuals who were anxious to restore tranquillity by reestablishing a limited monarchy; but the violent partisans, who ruled their several proceedings, could hardly hope for safety, if the king were restored, and must at all events have lost that influence which they had acquired. Anxious, therefore, for the destruction of Charles, the only difficulty which remained consisted in the means whereby this object might be effected. The history of his escape from Hampton Court is so enveloped in obscurity, that the utmost we can do is to conjecture on the real cause of it. The leaders of the army, who had for the time treated him with considerable civility, now wished for his death, and for a pretext on which they might found their change of conduct towards him: for this purpose they alarmed his fears, and facilities for his escape were afforded to his friends, of which they took advantage; while the general vigilancy of their guards made the flight from the kingdom almost impossible. It was thus, perhaps, that he left Hampton Court without the knowledge of the army, but was deceived in the hopes of finding a ship ready to convey him away. It was thus that he fell into the hands of the governor of Carisbrook castle, and was detained as a pri-

soner till his removal for trial. It was necessary for Cromwell that the king should be removed. It was necessary for the army that they should not allow the king, by joining with the republican party, to annihilate the influence of the soldiery; and they cared perhaps less for the fate of Charles than for their own interests: had he escaped, they would have little regarded it, provided he did not join the parliament and the republicans.

§. 595. The moderate republicans foresaw their danger, and were anxious to reestablish the king[a]. The Scotch would have consented to his restoration, because they perceived the risk they ran of falling a prey to the English government, whatever it might be, and they were ready to adopt either loyalty or rebellion, provided their own interests were promoted. But Charles believed that the episcopal government of the church was the one which the apostles had established, and he had suffered too much by taking one false step (the death of lord Strafford*) ever to adventure his soul on another act which was in direct violation of his principles. Had Charles consented to adopt the presbyterian form of church government, the party which was

[a] Many of those who had contributed to this catastrophe now saw the lengths into which they had been carried, and exerted themselves to hinder the event when it was too late. Forty-seven of the presbyterian ministers in London presented a petition to general Fairfax and his council of war, wherein they boldly and plainly rebuked a victorious army, and pointed out the villainy of their proceedings. (Collier, ii. 859.)

* Life of Col. Hutchinson, ii. 156.

treating with him might possibly have been strong enough to restore him to a nominal throne; at least he had good reason to believe this, and his resistance on this point obviously led to his death. The decision of the king on this question was by no means the effect of obstinacy, but of a thorough conviction, arising from a very perfect understanding of the argument. He was twice engaged in the dispute, and it fortunately happens that his papers are preserved.

In the first, Mr. Henderson*, who was deemed a learned and a moderate presbyterian, was sent to satisfy the king's doubts, while he was prisoner in the Scotch army at Newcastle, (May 29—July 16th, 1646.) The arguments of the king are nearly those which are before stated (§. 460); the answer of Henderson appears to be a *petitio principii*, and an avoiding of the question. There is not throughout a single argument on the *jus divinum* of presbyterian ordination; (that is, an argument to shew that episcopal ordination is not as consistent with the word of God as presbyterian;) and this was what they virtually maintained in their sermons when they attacked episcopacy. The argument really is this. The point is not settled in scripture, the expressions of which are not contradictory to either hypothesis: the presbyterian hypothesis is inconsistent with ecclesiastical history: which hypothesis therefore is the most probable? All Henderson says is, It is not settled in scripture. Tradition is inadmissible into

* King Charles I. Works, 75—90.

theological argument, or the papists must carry the day[b]. Episcopacy has obviously done much harm to religion; therefore it ought to be cast out: had he been pleading for the reform of episcopacy, his argument would have been good, "therefore it ought to "be reformed." One query of the king received no answer*: viz. What warrant is there in the word of God for subjects to endeavour to force their king's conscience, and to make him alter laws against his will?

The discussion at Newport† (Sept. 18th, 1648) is more fully drawn up, on the side of episcopacy, inasmuch as his majesty was here assisted by Usher, Sanderson, Sheldon, and Duppa, whereas in the other case all was done by himself: the presbyterian argument is well stated, but labours under the same difficulty; it avoids the real question. That in favour of episcopacy is not perhaps so sound as the king's at Newcastle: they assert that episcopacy‡ may be sufficiently proved from holy scripture; a position which a presbyterian would indubitably deny; and which cannot probably be carried beyond the point that it is in no wise inconsistent with, but rather agrees with the account there given of the church officers. Charles does not insist on the

[b] This is a position which the member of the church of England would never grant. We are ready to meet the Roman catholics on the ground of tradition, when the meaning of that term is rightly settled.

* Letter i. p. 76. † King Charles's Works, p. 612—646.
‡ Letter iii. 2. p. 616.

divine right, but puts these three questions *, to which no answer was made: 1. Did Christ and his apostles appoint any one form of church government? 2. If so, may this be changed by human authority? 3. Was this government episcopal or presbyterian [c]?

[c] The whole question of episcopacy, as debated by the presbyterians, is frequently confused, from not distinguishing between the order of bishops and their jurisdiction. If it be granted that bishops are a distinct order, it does not follow that they are to be the sole governors in the church. They are so, perhaps, too much in the church of England, and the result has been, not that they now tyrannize over the inferior clergy, as in the early days of the church of England, for in the present times the force of public opinion will sufficiently prevent this; but that ecclesiastical discipline among the clergy has been destroyed by the counteraction arising from the risk of their tyrannizing. Bishops in most cases, where a clergyman is concerned, are by law the sole judges, (at least their courts are, and the world does not know that a bishop's court is not the same thing as a bishop.) They are forced therefore to shrink from the appearance of being unjust, and they may more truly perhaps be accused of not exerting the power which they possess. In many cases the expense of doing their duty is so enormous, and the difficulty of proving charges, though notorious, so great, that he must be very ignorant of human nature, who hastily passes censure on bishops in this particular. If a certain number of clergymen, chosen independently of the bishop, were appointed as his assessors and council, much of the personal responsibility would be taken off, and the opinion of the public would support ecclesiastical discipline, whereas it is now frequently arrayed against it on most false grounds. (See some observations on this head in p. 34, Church Reform, by a Churchman.) Something of this sort is directed in the 31st Canon with regard to ordinations; though, perhaps, it has hardly ever been practi-

* Letter iii. 9. p. 620, and 646.

The whole of these two discussions is well worthy the attention of any one who is anxious to examine

cally adopted by any bishop. Here, according to our canon, the power of a bishop is limited; for he ought not to ordain without the presence of the dean, archdeacon, and two prebendaries, or at least four parsons, masters of arts, and allowed preachers: nor (35) without the candidates having been previously examined in the presence of at least three of them: a step which would greatly diminish the odium of rejecting candidates for orders. The neglect of this canon has not been to render bishops arbitrary in rejecting candidates for orders, but to admit improper persons into the church. In many cases the freehold of a clergyman is implicated in the question of his conduct, and God forbid that any man's property in England should be left unguarded; but it is surely but fair to the flocks over whom we are appointed to watch, that if we neglect our duty, and can be convicted before a jury of our fellow beneficed clergymen, we should be removable by law, without entailing a vast expense on the bishop, who only does his duty in dismissing an offending clergyman. The presbyterian church obviously possesses the advantage in point of discipline; but there is no reason why these advantages should not be transplanted into a church, which shall at the same time retain the apostolic order of bishops. Archbishop Usher's (§. 585.) plan would have combined many of the advantages of these two forms of government; and probably the only hopes which we can reasonably entertain of ever seeing ecclesiastical discipline over the clergy effectually reestablished, (which God of his great mercy grant,) must arise from adopting something of this sort. A bishop, who was disposed to do so, might introduce much, without any change of the laws; for the constitution of our parish offices, rural deaneries, archidiaconal and episcopal visitations, are all founded upon a principle, which, while it made the bishop the head and source through which the jurisdiction of the church was derived from the throne, presumed that much of this authority was exercised by the united influence of the clergy themselves, who would thus become the guardians and judges of the conduct of their brethren. (Herbert, in his Country Parson,

into this point, and will leave on the mind of the reader a strong impression of the goodness and

ch. xix. p. 62, considers visitations as clergy councils.) The churchwardens and sidesmen form a sort of parish council for the clergyman; the dean rural was formerly the overseer of his deanery. The visitations might answer the purposes of peculiar and general assemblies of the diocese, while the convocation forms a national synod. All but the last, might, to a certain degree, be established in his own diocese by any bishop who chose it.

The kingdom has for the last two hundred years been making rapid strides in every species of improvement, and a corresponding alteration in the laws on every subject has taken place: during this period, nothing has been remedied in the church; a few acts of parliament have regulated some of its temporal concerns, and obviated some evils, but the clergy have never been allowed officially to state the disadvantages under which, as a body politic, we labour; or to suggest the methods by which these evils might probably be cured: and if the temper of the mass of churchmen be little suited to enter on such discussions, as is sometimes asserted; if there be greater risk in discussing the question of alterations, than in continuing the abuses under which we labour; the fault is attributable chiefly to those who have long closed our national assembly, and to the want of discipline which the circumstances of our country have created. The state of the church of England at present is that of a perfect toleration of religious opinions, coexistent with an establishment; a form, under God's providence, probably the most likely to foster real Christianity; but the temporal advantages which the establishment possesses are, perhaps, more than counterbalanced by the total inability of our church to regulate any thing within herself, and the great want of discipline over the clergy. (We must except, indeed, that which public opinion has established.) In those points which are regulated by acts of parliament, the odium of putting them in force is thrown on the bishop alone, when frequently there is no such necessity; while the absurd nature of our ecclesiastical laws renders every species of discipline over the laity not only nu-

sense of the king. He seems to have comprehended the question fully, and to have acted upon it honestly, though it cost him his crown and his life. For when no concessions could be obtained from him, the party who wished for his death became sufficiently strong to perpetrate the murder; and he was brought to a mock trial, which exhibited his patience, his Christianity, and the injustice of his oppressors; and his death sealed the testimony of his uprightness as a man.

§. 596. Charles had the misfortune of being educated in a political school little likely to enable him to see the line of policy which it was wise for him to adopt. When the majority of the influential part

gatory, but, when it is exercised, frequently unchristian, ridiculous, and in many cases very oppressive. In all this, the fault is not in the clergy; but, alas, we bear the blame, are made obnoxious to reproach, for faults among ourselves which there is no power to punish; and liable to censure on account of laws, which ought to have been abrogated long ago, but over which the clergy have no control. As to ecclesiastical discipline over the laity, it can hardly exist where universal dissent is tolerated; and it may be a great question, whether, in the present state of society, its reestablishment would promote the cause of vital religion: a clergyman who does his duty may reprove in private an erring brother; may warn, may admonish him of his faults; and it may be doubted whether any other authority is wisely entrusted to us; whether the temptation to overstep our duty, from personal considerations, may not more than outweigh the probable good effect of such power. As it is at present, excommunication bears with it such terrible civil penalties, that it can hardly be used in a Christian manner. With regard to discipline among ourselves, there can be no doubt that it is much wanted; and may God grant it us, as it shall seem good to him!

of society have made up their minds as to the necessity of any alteration in the government, prudent concession may disarm innovation of its violence, may counteract its ill effects, and may guide the stream of opinion, though nothing can arrest it. The same stream may thus produce fertility as it passes, which, if left to the direction of the thoughtless and wicked, who form a large portion of every society, would have produced all the evils which the most fearful could anticipate. The people of England had come to the decision, that they had the right of taxing themselves, and of being governed by law [a]. The friends of the court dreaded to admit the first, and were unable to concede the latter, unless the first were previously granted; and Charles, having learnt from his father that the only source of legitimate power lay in the crown, regarded all opposition as a species of rebellion, and tried to govern without parliaments. A general combination was formed against the court; the court was composed of many unwise, of many dishonest individuals, and when it came to act against the people, it was inadequate to the task. A churchman at the head of the ministry tried to excite the church in

[a] This is in fact the substance of the petition of rights. (Rapin, ii. 270.) It is there declared, That the right of imposing taxes belongs to the parliament; that this had been infringed; and that violence had been offered to the subject by imprisonments, the quartering of soldiers on divers counties, and issuing commissions of martial law. This was presented in 1628, and a very general answer returned to it.

defence of the supposed rights of the crown, but he had previously divided that body by his endeavours to promote his own theological party; and while the more dignified part of the establishment generally sided with the king, there was a strong party who were willing and eager to humble the superior members of their own order, whom they regarded as their oppressors, and to destroy the higher offices in the church, and those preferments from the attainment of which they found themselves excluded on account of religious opinions, which the governing ascendancy deemed unorthodox.

§. 597. When the first parliament of 1640 was assembled, good men had reasonably formed great hopes from its moderation and prudence, and its dissolution was accompanied with the universal sorrow of the well-affected: the friends of the government saw no other hope than in the reassembling another, and no one could expect that such a step could be free from great danger. The violence of the long parliament soon drew from the affrighted court what might easily have satisfied its predecessor; but the ease with which concessions were made, and the warmth of those who demanded them, convinced all who were thus implicated, that they could not trust to concessions so made, or secure their own personal safety, except by throwing down and trampling on the crown; and the want of confidence in the court which the country entertained, enabled them to do so. When subjects begin to force a government, to yield is dangerous, to resist often im-

possible, and that, which if granted with a good grace, might have conciliated a large portion of the kingdom, became so inadequate to satisfy those who had obtained it, that the very concession could on their part be guarded only by further demands. The sole ground on which the conduct of the parliament can be justified, is, that they could not trust the promise and concessions of the king; and if this could be established, they had no alternative but to submit their necks to the hazard of the block, or to take the militia into their own hands. It was so much their interest that a general opinion of the insincerity of Charles should prevail, that the fact of its prevailing does not at all prove its truth; yet there is some strong evidence against the king. He * calls the advice for peace, given him by the two houses assembled in Oxford, "the base and mu-" tinous motions" of his "mongrel parliament;" an expression which, coupled with many others in his letters to the queen on the treaty at Uxbridge, makes it very questionable how he might have acted, had he gained the superiority in the war. Yet, after all, these may be petulant terms, elicited by anger, or by tenderness to the prejudices of his wife, or he might have seen more deeply into the undoubted insincerity of the parliament; but it can hardly be imagined that he would intentionally have violated those bills, to which his assent was affixed; and at all events the security of the people was better guarded by their power of refusing illegal supplies,

* Works of King Charles I. p. 150. No. 29. Rapin, ii. 512.

than his safety could have been secured, had the militia been in the hands of the parliament. The real danger seems to have consisted in the weakness of mind rather than in the dishonesty of Charles, for no one could trust that a determination once formed might not be immediately changed. He had listened to the proposals of Strafford *, when that minister advised him to establish a perfect tyranny, and had continued to trust him as his adviser; he had surrendered up the same man to the violence of his enemies, when he ought to have defended him; and can we wonder that the world should be induced to believe that Charles was not worthy to be trusted? It was probably this same want of firmness and self-confidence, which rendered the issue of the war so disastrous; which first ruined the discipline of his officers, and then exposed his army to defeat. His failings led to a catastrophe which might probably have been avoided, had he been a worse man, at least the evil day might longer have been delayed. His virtues were tried and exhibited by the difficulties and misfortunes to which he was subjected, and have gained him the appellation of a martyr [a]. Had he lived when the con-

[a] It is perhaps unfortunate that this appellation should ever have been affixed by authority. He was in one sense a martyr to the defence of the church of England, and in his death exhibited strong proofs of his sincere Christianity. Nor is it less to be lamented that the observance of the fifth of November, the thirtieth of January, and the twenty-ninth of May, has not been legally discontinued, since it can only have the

* Ludlow's Mem. iii. 322. or third edit. 262.

stitution was more fully established, he would probably have proved a constitutional and good king; had he lived when the country was less prepared to assume its share in the government of itself, he might have been found a better king than his father; as it was, his weakness lost him his crown and life, while his firmness prevented the church of England from being swallowed up by fanaticism, or changed to a presbyterian form; a fate which would probably have attended her, had he coalesced with either the army or the republicans.

In this great struggle, when the virtues, vices, and energies of every man were put to the severest test, there are few whose history will bear more near inspection than that of this virtuous man. There were others who were wiser, better, and greater, but his faults were the errors of a judgment which did not sufficiently rely on itself, and followed the prejudices in which he had been brought up, or which were instilled into him by others; his virtues were his own, and the fruit of his sincere religion. There is perhaps no greater proof of the honesty of his intentions, than the fact *, that the best vindi-

effect of protracting animosities and continuing party feeling, which it should be the office of a wise government to destroy as much as possible. The services might be changed by the crown, they are not sanctioned by any act of parliament. It is curious that Sancroft, who drew up the office for the thirtieth of January, uses, in a letter to his father written at the time, expressions more strong than any which he has introduced into the services. (Life, i. 43.)

* Works of Charles I.

cation of him which his friends could publish after the restoration, consisted in an authentic copy of his letters, speeches, and public acts.

§. 598. Something has been already said with regard to the sufferings of the clergy, who were on both sides exposed to great cruelty. Those evils which the friends of the parliament endured, were generally the rude insults of unauthorized violence. The language of the royal party * had applied the name of puritan to those who would not conform in church matters, and the rabble, taking up the term, comprehended under it all who were disposed to greater strictness in life or preaching, and who thus became the objects of popular odium, when the fury of the war let loose the multitude against every one who had any thing to lose. This circumstance drove many persons to join the parliament, who had otherwise no inclination to take any part in the war. The sufferings of the royalists arose from illegal acts of tyranny, carried on under the semblance of justice, in which the evil passions of individuals were allowed to embitter penalties in themselves sufficiently grievous. It must be granted that the parliament, when they had recourse to arms, could not in prudence allow the loyalist clergy to retain their situations as teachers, but the means which they took to dispossess them were very unwarrantable. They who sat as judges † were often the promoters of the charges which they were to in-

* Calamy's Baxter, p. 48, &c. † Walker's Sufferings, p. 80. 90—94.

vestigate, were frequently incompetent to such offices, and justly suspected of receiving money from the prisoners who were brought before them, as well as from those who succeeded to the vacant benefices. The accusations* which were made against the clergy were, besides offences of a moral nature, generally the observance of ceremonies, and malignancy; and it is wonderful that in such a scrutiny no more instances of vicious lives and conversations are recorded[a]. In the cases adduced by Walker, some of the clergy are charged with very ridiculous crimes: with deserting their cures, for instance, when the parliament had driven them away. One is blamed † for singing a most malignant psalm, another for reading ‡ a most malignant chapter; for walking in his garden on a Sunday; because his dog caught a hare on a Sunday. But when the ordinance for taking the covenant was passed, (Feb. 22, 1644.) and the use of the Directory enjoined, (Jan. 3, 1645.) these two handles of ejection § superseded the necessity of any other, and the task of sequestration became plain. The nature of the witnesses who were admitted, consisting of offended parishioners or informers encouraged by the committee; the fact, that at first these witnesses were not examined on oath, that they were not confronted with the accused for fear of discouraging them, that

[a] White, chairman of the committee, published "a century "of scandalous ministers," or the account of the hundred worst cases which he could select. I have never seen it.

* Walker's Sufferings, 97—103. † Ibid. p. 83. ‡ Ibid. 93. § Ibid. 106.

they were often received without any scrutiny *—all mark a dishonesty of intention on the part of the parliament, which the necessity of the case may account for, but can by no means excuse. The parliament pretended to advocate the cause of the subject, and they were guilty of gross and unnecessary acts of oppression. What could be more arbitrary than to compel men who had long used and admired the Common Prayer Book, to desist from its use? to force men to take the covenant, who had been bred up in episcopacy, and believed in the sacred nature of its institution? In July 1646 †, when there was some appearance that the parliament and the army would quarrel, the ejected clergy presented an ineffectual petition to the king and sir Thomas Fairfax, stating, "that they had been put out of "their freeholds by the arbitrary power of commit-"tees, whose proceedings have usually been by no "rule of any known law, but by their own wills; of "whose orders no record is kept, nor scarce any "notes or memorials whereby it may appear when, "by whom, or for what, your petitioners are re-"moved;" and then recapitulating some of the before-mentioned hardships.

The provision which was made for the families of those who were ejected, was, after some delay, settled at a fifth of their preferment; but this was assigned with many restrictions, and frequently obtained with much difficulty ‡; nor does it appear to

* Neal's Puritans, iii. 108. † Walker, 145. ‡ Walker's Sufferings, p. 100.

have been ever extended to the members of cathedral churches. The want of any abstract of the proceedings of these committees has rendered the task of estimating the numbers of those who were ejected exceedingly difficult; but the attempt has been made by Gauden, who states it as his opinion that between six and seven thousand clergymen were ejected. Walker's* calculation goes higher, but these computations are probably much beyond the truth.

§. 599. The accounts respecting the universities† are much more ample. In 1642 lord Holland obtained an order from the house of lords, which was backed by one from the earl of Essex, that the property of the university of Cambridge should be respected: the place, however, had been already ransacked: and subsequently, in consequence of the loyalty exhibited by many of the members, who sent assistance in money and plate to the king, Oliver Cromwell came down there, and the town was converted into a garrison for the seven associated counties; a step which exposed the academicians to every species of minor oppression, an annoyance which was not at all discouraged by those in authority.

In January 1643 the regulation of the university was committed to the earl of Manchester, and ample powers were put into his hands. He commenced his operations by ejecting all who were absent, and who did not appear within twelve days, (a period of time too short even to summon many of them,) and proceeded to get rid of all whom he disliked, by propos-

* Walker's Sufferings, p. 199. † Ibid. 108.

ing to them the covenant for their acceptance. It is supposed that between five and six hundred were, during the rebellion, ejected from this university alone. In filling the vacant places, statutes and oaths were disregarded, and in some cases fellowships were left altogether void, while all who were admitted to any situation were examined by the assembly. The favour which was afterwards shewn to Cambridge was granted for the purpose of establishing a rebellious university, since the parliament had early discovered that the university, as it was, would never rebel.

§. 600. (A. D. 1647.) Oxford, during the continuance of the war, had furnished the court with a safe and comfortable retreat: it had been fortified in 1644, and surrendered not till the governor had received an order to that effect from the king, who was then a prisoner with the Scotch. The members of the university and citizens had borne arms in the royal cause, and the terms which were obtained were at least honourable to her defenders; but the day of visitation at length arrived.

In order to pave the way for the commissioners*, seven divines, who were friendly to the new order of things, were sent down, and were most regular in preaching at St. Mary's, while the sober part of the university retired to St. Mary Magdalen church. They opened also a place for theological disputations, which was nicknamed "the scruple shop," and there met with much disturbance from one Erbury.

* Walker, 122.

an independent, who silenced the presbyterian divines, by asking them "by what authority they "taught?" for they dared not confess their episcopal ordination, and had no other to adduce. When the commissioners of visitation were appointed, (May 1,) the university put forth reasons why they could not assent to the covenant and its appendages, a tract which was chiefly drawn up by Sanderson and Zouch, and is printed in the appendix to the small edition of Walton's Life of Sanderson[a]. It is a bold and unanswerable pamphlet, and distinctly tells the parliament, in respectful terms, that they were "usurpers and tyrants," and that "the members of "the university neither could nor would obey them." The reception with which the commissioners met, corresponded with this beginning. They found their authority despised and themselves ridiculed, and could do nothing till the arrival (Sept. 27) of a new commission in the king's name. Fell, dean of Christ Church, who was then vice-chancellor, and the other heads, when they appeared before the commissioners, demanded their authority; and when the commission was shewn, they questioned its authenticity. The most obnoxious opponents, however, were by degrees sent prisoners to London; but the commissioners did not find themselves able to effect their purpose, till they were supported by a guard of soldiers; and even then Mrs. Fell would not quit the deanery at

[a] There is a full abstract of it in Collier, ii. 849; it is printed at length in the 8vo. edition of Walton's Lives, Oxford, 1824, at the end.

Christ Church, but sat still in her chair till she was lifted bodily into the quadrangle. The orders which were inserted by the commissioners in the buttery-book at Christ Church, were next morning found to have been erased by the students, and every step which they made was gained merely by force. They expelled from the university five hundred and forty-eight inferior members* who rejected their authority, and were only driven out by the interference of a file of soldiers. Most of these suffered great misery, and continued faithful in their loyalty; and from their numbers, and the influence which educated men cannot fail to possess, may probably have greatly assisted in advancing the restoration.

Many of those who filled up the vacancies thus created were brought from Cambridge, where they had resided since the regulation in 1643: but the best places fell to the lot of the visitors. The university, when new modelled, became bounteous of her honours, conferring degrees on the chief instruments of the rebellion, and subsequently electing Oliver Cromwell as their chancellor. It might have been expected, that the persons† now introduced into the two universities would have corrupted the soil so effectually, as to have prevented the growth of any goodly plants for a long season; but the restoration found them as full of sound learning and piety as of obedience and duty; a fact which leads us to conclude, that the description of the persons then introduced, as given by lord Clarendon, must be much

* Walker, 138. † Clarendon, iii. 74.

overcharged. Nor must it in fairness be forgotten, that the names* of Ward and of Wallis were then added to our university, that the Royal Society sprung from her misfortunes, and that oriental literature† never flourished more than during the usurpation. It is by examining circumstances such as these, that we discover the real importance of sound learning, and of establishments for religious education: for be it ever remembered, that the royal cause found nowhere more determined and active friends than in Christ Church; and that South‡, when as monitor he read the Latin prayers in Westminster school, on the day of the execution of Charles I, prayed publicly for his murdered sovereign.

* Neal's Puritans, iii. 396. † Sect. 616. ‡ Life, by Curl, p. iii.

# CHAPTER XIV.

## THE USURPATION, 1649—1660.

601. Outline of the history; the whole power was in the hands of the army. 602. Cromwell's success in Ireland; in Scotland; treatment of Charles II. in Scotland; advance into England, and battle of Worcester. 603. Cromwell makes the people dissatisfied with the parliament, in order that they may fall into his hands. 604. Government of Cromwell. 605. Character of Cromwell. 606. Presbyterians. 607. Independents. 608. Propagation of the gospel in Wales. 609. Church government; Triers. 610. Treatment of the church of England; Cromwell's declaration; toleration; Roman catholics; Jews. 611. State of religion; Baxter at Kidderminster. 612. Discipline; associations. 613. Observations on these. 614. Independents; presbyterians. 615. State of religion; episcopalians. 616. Treatment of them, and their general conduct; literature. 617. Sects. 618. Quakers. 619. Anabaptists; antinomians; familists; fifth-monarchy men. 620. Laws about morality. 621. Heresy. 622. Marriage. 623. Succession of Bishops. 624. Causes of the restoration.

§. 601. (Jan. 31, 1649.) THE history of England during the usurpation, is more or less the general history of a country which has thrown down legitimate authority instead of reforming it; and corresponds with every reformation which has been carried on by the people alone. It is a struggle for political power on the part of those who have been oppressed, who misuse their authority when they have acquired it, and drive the nation to wish again for the government which they had previously cast

out. The necessity of reformation will be first visible to those who suffer most by existing abuses, and the desire of it therefore must spring from the people; but it can hardly produce good, unless it be managed by the upper orders, by men who are so situated as to perceive the advantage of institutions, which, however useful, are from mismanagement liable to serious objections. The charges raised against such establishments are often so peculiarly apparent to those who are most injured by them, and so exaggerated in their eyes, that they cannot estimate the benefits which might be derived from their proper use. The desire of correcting real evils had, in the beginning of the struggle, not only combined a large portion of the most valuable individuals in the nation, but had concentrated the good wishes of the majority of those who took no outward share in the contest. The necessity of any war, and its commencement, may perhaps be attributed to the unwillingness of the court to reform abuses, till it was too late; but when the parliament took up arms, many honest friends of liberty conscientiously joined the king. The strength of the nation, however, still sided with their representatives, and the heroic devotion and gallantry of some of the royalists was overpowered as much by the errors and selfishness of their friends, as by the energies of their adversaries. When the monarchy was subdued, the presbyterians and moderate party wished to reestablish it upon certain conditions; but the interests of those who had learnt their own

influence, and who hoped to raise themselves in the general ruin, prevented the adoption of any moderation. The army had conquered the king, and the republic was in the hands of the army, that is, of those who knew how to govern and direct it. The views of these persons were naturally turned towards such policy as was likely to render themselves powerful, and a state of confusion was that which they must have desired.

§. 602. Cromwell knew that some successful general must be the governor of England, and he put himself at the head of the Irish army, where his success surpassed all that he could have himself expected. The campaign is that of an experienced general at the head of a veteran army, opposed by men who were unskilled in war, and devoid of resources for carrying it on. His progress was marked with extreme cruelty towards the natives, and was so rapid that the whole country was virtually reduced, when the affairs in Scotland, during the next year, demanded the presence of the general. When Fairfax refused to take the command against the presbyterians and Scotch, he placed Cromwell at the head of the military force of the republic, and the victory at Dunbar made him formidable to friends and foes. Charles II. had consented to try his fortunes in Scotland, and to trust himself to the presbyterians, who would not receive him till he had taken the covenant, and publicly acknowledged the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family, and in shedding the blood which had already

flowed during the war. (A. D. 1650.) As if the forced profession of what he did not believe, and a public act which made him dishonour his parents, were likely to render him a good king, or friendly to a body which had tyrannically imposed these conditions upon him! but so it was, and so does selfishness ever defeat its own ends. Had the Scotch, at Dunbar, avoided an engagement with Cromwell, that general might probably have been obliged to retire with disgrace: but, incited by their ministers, the Scotch gave up the advantages which they possessed, and were totally defeated. (Sept. 3.) Upon this, Charles retired to the north, leaving Cromwell master of Edinburgh and the south, and was crowned at Scone on Jan. 1, 1651, finding himself treated more like a king after this reverse of fortune which oppressed his nominal friends.

In the spring, the royal army took up its position at Stirling, and when Cromwell had thrown himself into their rear, they marched as rapidly as they could into England, where they were ultimately defeated at Worcester. (Sept. 3.) The king indeed himself escaped, but the royal party was entirely broken.

§. 603. Cromwell was now in reality the governor of England; but before he could put himself forward as invested with this authority, it was necessary to make the army and the country dissatisfied with the long parliament. This was far from a difficult task; for their own selfish conduct had already rendered the act of their dissolution acceptable to most parties,

and the necessity of increasing the navy during the war with Holland, (1652,) alarmed the army with the prospect of being disbanded. Had Cromwell called a free parliament, it is impossible to decide what might have been the result; but nothing could be further from his intentions: he appointed a parliament of his own nomination, whose foolish proceedings[a] made every one more contented when the mask was ultimately thrown off, and he was installed (Dec. 16, 1653,) as Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland. His successive mock-parliaments, and his finally relinquishing the hope of being king, which he had long fondly cherished, mark the spirit of liberty which still prevailed in the country, and prove the opposition which was raised against his authority, and the talent with which he conducted the government. His vigilance and activity rendered him safe from every danger but that of assassination, and of this he was much afraid[b].

[a] Cromwell probably called the Barebone parliament for this very purpose. Nothing but the necessity of the case could satisfy the nation with his appointment; but when they saw that this parliament was obviously unequal to the task of governing, and the choice seemed to lie between anarchy or a protector, reasonable men might prefer the latter. In the Barebone parliament it was put to the vote whether parish ministers should be put down; and though the motion was thrown out, many persons might be alarmed at the danger in which the establishment was placed. (Baxter's Life, i. 70.) This was exactly what Cromwell desired, that he might appear to come forward to save the nation from this dilemma.

[b] The nominal constitution which was established by the instrument of government was as follows: A parliament shall be

§. 604. The secret of his government was that he balanced parties against each other, without offending any of them more than he could help; and that he chose men who were suited to the situations in which he placed them, and ready to cooperate in his plans. His object was that his government should be as strong as possible, and therefore it was his interest that it should be well conducted; but while* abilities advanced few under him, he selected those who would never question his commands, and zealously promote his welfare: and his own welfare was closely connected with the well-being of the country. Under such a man, this plan was productive of much good to the kingdom in general. He noticed all persons who were eminent† in any way, and attached them to himself by appropriate encouragement; but in his appointments his object was to select the man for the situation, and he was fortunately unfettered by those parliamentary interferences which must prevent most ministers from fol-

called every three years by the protector; the first, Sept. 3, 1654. No parliament to be dissolved till it has been sitting five months. Such bills as are offered to the protector by the parliament, if not confirmed by him in twenty days, to be laws without him. His council shall not exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen. Immediately after the death of Cromwell the council shall choose another protector before they rise. That no protector after the present shall be general of an army. The protector shall have power to make war and peace. The protector and his council may make laws which shall be binding on the subject during the intervals of parliament. (Rapin, ii. 591; Whitelock, 571.)

* Perfect Politician, 280. † Neal, iv. 184.

lowing his example. Justice between man and man was fairly administered, which was far from being the case previously, and England was never more respected by foreign nations. Cromwell gloried in being the protector of protestants, and is reported, by bishop Burnet*, to have formed a plan of establishing a sort of protestant "propaganda" society, at Chelsea, which was never carried into execution. When the Vaudois† were driven from their valleys by the court of Turin, (A. D. 1655.) the remonstrances of England to cardinal Mazarine and the duke of Savoy procured for them more lenient treatment; while a subscription was raised which amounted, in this country, to 37,000*l.*: so again, when in a tumult at Nismes it appeared that the protestants‡ had been ill used, his interference was so prompt and decisive, that cardinal Mazarine had just reason to complain, though he dared not refuse to comply with it.

§. 605. The character of the Protector, as drawn by Baxter§, is perhaps as fair as any which can be found; and it must be remembered, that Baxter was far from being his friend. He describes him as beginning his political life from religious motives, and collecting around him a band of men who were actuated by the same principles: when, however, they had shewn the power of these qualities in gaining a superiority over others, they were themselves overcome by their own ambition. There was much per-

* Own Time, i. 132. † Neal's Puritans, iv. 129. ‡ Ibid. iv. 146. § Life, i. 98.

sonal danger to those who had opposed the king in arms, in case he should ever recover his authority; and they gradually persuaded themselves, that they were seeking the good of the kingdom, as well as their own, in his execution; deeming themselves, according to their own false notions, called upon to use a power which God had put into their hands. In order to accomplish this end, it was necessary to destroy the influence of the Scotch and the presbyterian party, who favoured a limited monarchy; and to form a coalition with those who were fit instruments for carrying these plans into execution. In all these steps, Cromwell became entangled with difficulties, and having recourse to dissimulation and art, his success rendered him selfish, and swallowed up all the virtues with which he begun his career. There is, however, one feature in the character of this usurper, which must be a palliation to the worst of his faults, even to his hypocrisy, if indeed any thing can palliate this vice; I mean his unwillingness to shed blood. Surrounded as he was by attempts against his life and government, he kept the royalists in check, without destroying them; and though politically a vehement persecutor of the church of England, it is probable that his antipathy arose rather from the active zeal of churchmen in the cause of their banished monarch, than from any other reason. They were always plotting against him, yet he sacrificed but few of them; and counterplotting by means of spies for the safety of himself, he contrived to save them also

by the same expedient [a]. The instances which would be adduced to controvert these positions, would be the decimation, and the declaration forbidding any clergyman to teach or officiate; but surely, after the repeated instances which the royalists had given that they could not be trusted, it was not a hard measure to make those who had borne arms on the side of the king, pay one tenth of their incomes, to secure the authority which they wished to destroy. For the other measure less can be pleaded, and indeed nothing but necessity can at all justify it; but it was never acted upon generally, or enforced with any degree of rigour.

Cromwell looked upon churchmen * as his mortal enemies, and treated them accordingly; and he had quite sense enough to perceive, that if he suffered them to officiate publicly, or to teach and keep school, they would disseminate their loyal principles. The circumstances which preceded these acts were the dissolution of the parliament, which had shewn such decided dislike to the Protector, the rising of Penruddock in the west, and the discovery of other plots against the government. He now, therefore, wanted to intimidate the royalists as a body, and to shew them that every attempt to disturb the tranquillity of his government would be visited on their own heads.

[a] See a curious account of his good fortune in procuring spies. (Clarendon's Life, ii. 14. fol. 25. 8vo.)

* Walker's Suff. C. i. 194. Clarendon, iii. 624.

This character of Cromwell may to some persons appear to be too favourable; but where shall we find a usurper, who so much promoted the good of his country? where shall we discover one, whose ambition was stained with so little bloodshed?

§. 606. The church of England during this period had ceased to exist as a church: many of its individual members still continued their ministerial functions, but the mass of benefices were filled with men, who, holding presbyterian opinions, had been obtruded on the livings by the election and appointment of the inhabitants, or by the interest of those who cooperated with the existing government. The assembly of divines at Westminster* had endeavoured to establish by law the *jus divinum* of the presbytery, but in this they were foiled; nor does this form of church government† appear to have been permanently established, except in London and Lancashire, and even there to have been subjected to the civil power. (1648.) As a body, the presbyterians were generally favourable to a limited monarchy, and before the king was murdered, they presented petitions to Fairfax‡ and the army, urging them to prevent this fatal act; but having thrown down the law, which had been made for the defence of the whole people, the republicans found that they had forged their own chains, and were now unable to throw them off.

The original idea of the parliament§ seems to

* Walker's Sufferings, i. 32. † Ibid. i. 39. ‡ Collier, 859. ii. §. 595. a. § Ibid. ii. 861.

have been to establish a presbyterian church with toleration, and to commute tithes; but the opposition which the presbyterians made to the proceedings of the government inclined the supporters of it to more Erastian measures; and rendered them almost as adverse to the presbytery, as to the episcopacy of the church of England. The presbyterians refused to pray for the government, and the government in their turn imposed the Engagement, (Oct. 11, 1649,) which fell with nearly equal weight on all who were friends to monarchy. Persons holding any situation in either church or state were obliged to subscribe an engagement *, that "they "would be true and faithful to the commonwealth "as it is now established, without king or house of "lords:" and many of those who in the covenant had promised to defend the king's person, were now ejected for refusing what Walker † calls "the inde- "pendents' covenant." The presbyterians had joined in throwing down the church, partly, according to their frequent complaints, because the clergy were too much connected with civil concerns: but wherever they had obtained any influence, it was evident that their object was to take away temporal power from the bishops, which they had no objection to see retained by the presbytery. Upon this plea they had excited the Scotch to join in the rebellion. They had accompanied and governed the armies, had preached and practised treason, while they vilified the old establishment; and now the same arts

* Baxter's Life, i. 64. Nelson's Bull, 13. † Suff. 146. i.

were turned against themselves; for when it became the object of those in authority to frame a new government, as well as to throw down the old one, they found it necessary to lessen the influence of the presbyterian preachers.

§. 607. The standard of religious liberty was raised in opposition to the presbytery, a liberty and toleration which extended to every form of worship except those of the Roman catholics and the church of England; the one, because they called it idolatrous; the other, because they dared not expose the minds of the people to the operation of such an engine in favour of the royal family as this must have proved, had its use been permitted.

The arrival of the king in Scotland created much less commotion in England than might have been expected: for when he proceeded towards this country, it was obviously as a last resource, and not at the head of a victorious army, and few people wish to join a desperate cause: but there were some presbyterians in London who were tried for having communicated with his friends, and the government, wishing to intimidate the party, suffered Mr. Love*, an active minister, to be executed. (Aug. 22, 1651.) It is curious to remark the effect of this event; men who were not shocked† when many of the prisoners taken at Worcester were sent as slaves to the West India islands, deemed the commonwealth destroyed when Mr. Love was beheaded; so little able are even

* Neal, iv. 39. † Calamy's Abr. 65, 66. Baxter's Own Life, i. 67.

sensible men to form a correct judgment in moments of excitement. The presbyterians may from this period be said to have had no political existence as a church; they were favoured more than any other body, and were at once numerous and powerful, but they had no final power of excluding from the sacrament, or of punishing offenders. The bill* which did away with all penal statutes against dissenters, virtually destroyed church discipline over the laity, and the presbyterians would have been contented with nothing less than a coercive power over their lay brethren[a]. The same step took place in Scotland† by the mere authority of the general: for Monk dissolved the presbytery of Aberdeen by military force, when they were about to proceed to pass sentence on the laird of Drum, and he would allow of the imposition of no oaths or covenants besides those which were enjoined at Westminster.

§. 608. In Wales‡ a method of proceeding was adopted very different from what took place in England. Many of the livings were sequestered by a bill (Feb. 22, 1649) for the propagation of the gospel in Wales, and their revenues placed at the disposal of certain commissioners, by whom itinerant ministers were sent over the face of the country;

[a] The fifth and sixth provincial assembly held in Sion college in May and November, 1649, asserted the *jus divinum* of the presbytery, and their independence of the civil magistrate. (Neal, iv. 13.)

* Neal, iv. 26. † Collier, 866, ii. ‡ Walker's Suff. i. 149, &c.

men generally inadequate to the task, and probably often possessed of livings* as well as the stipend of 100*l.* per annum, which was allotted to them for their missionary labours. There seems to have been a good deal of dishonesty on all sides, and some of the commissioners are asserted to have amassed considerable property[a]. The delegated authority thus given to the itinerants invested them with no ministerial function; and as some of them appear to have been laymen, in many cases ignorant mechanics, they must be rather deemed licensed teachers and preachers than ministers. A petition† was ultimately presented to the parliament against them, signed by 15,000 hands, but it seems to have produced little good: this mismanagement, however, was so notorious, that an investigation took place after the restoration, of which the result is unknown.

[a] Neal, iv. 104, denies the mass of this statement; but I have ventured to follow Walker, whom I find borne out in part of his statement by Calamy, in his preface to the Abridgment, xii. The fact is, that the plan was framed on the principle of the independents, who virtually did away with all ordination; and Neal, whose principles are independent, is but too apt to defend any thing which coincides with his own opinions. The contradictions in the portion of history, on which we are now engaged, strongly remind the reader of Baxter's (Life, p. 135.) observation. "The prodigious lies which have been published in this "age in matters of fact, with unblushing confidence, even where "thousands or multitudes of eye and ear witnesses knew all to "be false, doth call men to take heed what history they believe."

* Walker's Suff. i. 159. † Ibid. i. 167.

§. 609. It may be asked, how any church establishment could exist at all, where there were no ecclesiastical governing authorities, and where the rights of presentation to livings were so totally violated; but the parliament was not inattentive to the maintenance of the clergy, for, besides the continuance of tithes*, the money raised by the sale of the bishops' lands, and of the tenths and first-fruits, was assigned to commissioners to provide greater incomes for the smaller livings; and the proposed object of this ordinance was, that no living should be allowed to remain of less annual value than 100*l*. The assembly of divines at Westminster formed at first a nucleus of church government; and Cromwell subsequently created an authority for this purpose in the establishment of the Triers. An ordinance† was passed, (March 20, 1654,) appointing a committee of thirty-eight persons, nine of whom were laymen, whose business it was to examine all who were nominated to any ecclesiastical preferments; but a clause was inserted expressly providing that their approbation should not be construed into any solemn setting apart of the candidate for the ministry. They were vested with extraordinary powers, far beyond what had ever been granted to the bishops; and as they sat in London, the mere fact of being forced to appear before them must have proved a vast expense and trouble to the clergy, had not this evil been partly obviated‡

* Neal, iv. 13. † Walker, i. 150. 170. Neal, iv. 93.
‡ Baxter's Life, 72.

by their frequently granting commissions, in order that individuals might be examined in the country. Their proceedings were often most arbitrary and very absurd. There are some examinations given by Walker*, which turn entirely on abstruse points of divinity, in which the candidate is obliged to bear testimony to his own qualifications and the grace of God which is in him: a method which can hardly fail to end either in hypocrisy or the rejection of the candidate. Under such a system of examination, they might refuse persons nominated to livings on account of their political opinions, without any danger of discovery; and this is the excuse which Neal† makes for their proceedings. Their commission originally extended to those who had been admitted into any benefice during the last year, as well as to any future presentations; but when (Aug. 28th) the ordinance‡ passed for ejecting scandalous ministers, they became more than ever a political engine, and attacked under the same authority, and as if guilty of the same offence, the notoriously profligate, the friends of the Common Prayer Book, and the enemies of the present government, who, in the eyes of the rest of the country, were confounded in the same obloquy[a]. Severe,

[a] See the details of some proceedings of this sort held at Abingdon, Berks, upon Pocock, Hebrew Professor and rector of Childrey. (Twell's Life of Pocock, p. 152 and 185.) The charges are,—

"1. That he had frequently made use of the idolatrous Com-
"mon Prayer Book as he performed divine service.

"2. That he was disaffected to the present power," &c. &c. And

* Suff. i. 174. † Hist. Puritans, iv. 97. ‡ Walker, i. 178.

however, and unjust as the conduct of the Triers was, it fell far short of the ultimate declaration of the Protector*, who forbade all persons to employ any of the delinquent (i. e. royalist) clergy, even as tutors to their children. The extreme severity of this measure seems to have prevented its execution for any length of time; but Cromwell refused to rescind it, though solicited by archbishop Usher†, who was earnest in his personal requests to him. The Protector seemed at first willing to grant that they should not be molested, provided they meddled not with politics; but his council urged him to concede no liberty to men who were implacable enemies to himself and his government[b].

§. 610. The pretext by which he had chiefly gained his power was that of universal toleration, and in all probability there was more of real freedom in religion under his government, than at any other period previous to the revolution; but the exclusion of the church of England, which may be accounted for on political principles, was not the

And when he had disproved all these accusations, he who was one of the most learned men in Europe, would have been turned out for ignorance and insufficiency, if his friends from Oxford had not come and shamed the commissioners into justice.

[b] Gauden, afterwards bishop of Exeter, wrote a petitionary remonstrance, presented to Oliver Cromwell, to the same effect. (Wood's Ath. iii. 614.)

* Walker, i. 194. † Parr's Life of Usher, 75. Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. v. 374.

only exception to the toleration which was professed. In the instrument of government * by which the chief authority was delegated to Cromwell, the free exercise of their religion was guaranteed to all "who "professed faith in God by Jesus Christ." (Dec. 1653.) an expression which the first parliament assembled by him determined to contain no less than "the fundamentals of religion." (Sept. 3, 1654.) And a committee of divines was formed to draw up *in terminis* "the fundamentals of religion." They were far from agreeing in their opinions, and some were anxious to insert many propositions which suited their own ideas, and would exclude the Roman catholics and Socinians. Baxter wisely reasoned against this narrowing the bounds of the original expression: but the labours of the committee were rendered abortive by the dissolution of the parliament. (Jan. 22, 1655.) So little indeed did these advocates of freedom understand its real principles, that John Southworth †, a Roman catholic priest, was executed for the exercise of his sacerdotal functions, nor were the severe laws against Roman catholics abrogated. In the parliament 1656-7, a new oath of abjuration ‡ was framed, which not only denied the authority of the pope, but rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, and other tenets of the church of Rome, and a refusal to take it subjected the individual to severe penalties and losses. There was at one time a project for extending liberty

* Baxter's Life, 197. † Butler's Roman Cath. ii. 407.
‡ Neal, iv. 144.

of conscience to the Roman catholics *, and consultations were held among the members of the government for the purpose of granting them security of person and of the remainder of their property after composition, as well as for providing a safe living for a prelate who might exercise his functions; but the loyalty of the Roman catholics was alarmed at the idea of compounding with the usurper, and they communicated the circumstances to the exiled court, where a stop was put to the whole. The Jews † too petitioned for toleration, and leave to carry on trade in England, and the Protector seems to have been favourable to their views; but a council of divines, lawyers, and merchants, whom he consulted on the point of conscience, on the legality of their admission, and on the political wisdom of the measure, were so adverse to the step, that the idea of it was relinquished; but it appears ‡ that many individuals of this religion did settle in London upon sufferance, and that they had a burying ground of their own in 1657.

§. 611. If it be asked how the parochial duties were performed during this period, a variety of answers may be expected, corresponding with the views of those whom we consult, and changing in the different parts of the kingdom to which we may turn our eyes. If we may believe Baxter, religion never flourished more than during this period: but his testimony is hardly admissible as conclusive on

* Butler's Roman Cath. 418. Thurloe's St. Pass. i. 740.
† Neal, iv. 126. ‡ Collier's Church History, ii. 869.

this point, and even his own history affords instances of the contrary. As it is very difficult to form a general opinion on the subject, it may not be uninteresting to insert such details as may furnish us with some slight data on which to ground our conclusions.

(A. D. 1641.) The town of Kidderminster* was about to petition against their vicar as a scandalous minister, and he, to escape this obloquy, consented to give sixty pounds per annum to a lecturer who should be appointed by the chief inhabitants, and they chose Mr. Baxter. During the civil war, the disturbances of the town obliged the new lecturer to fly from it, and he joined the army for some time in the capacity of a chaplain. When the successes of the war had thrown the power into the hands of the parliament, the living of Kidderminster was sequestered, and the temporalities placed at the disposal of the principal inhabitants, in order that they might provide themselves with preachers. After some time, they could only prevail on Baxter to continue as their lecturer with a salary augmented to one hundred pounds; but when there was a danger of their being called to account for the disposal of the money, they secretly conveyed the instrument of sequestration into Mr. Baxter's house, and he continued to hold it, in order to screen them from enquiry.

§. 612. Being thus seated in his living, Baxter† called on such of the inhabitants as voluntarily

* Baxter's Life, 19. † Ibid. 91. 157. 167.

chose to do so, to signify to him their willingness to be under his ministry and discipline: and thus, without rejecting the rest of the parishioners, whom he admitted as strangers occasionally only to the eucharist and to the baptism of their children, he did as it were gather a church in his own parish. His object in this method of proceeding was, to mark the difference between those who were, and those who were not church members; for he found that many of his flock could only thus be kept from separation, when they perceived an outward line drawn between themselves and their less godly neighbours. About 600 out of 1600 adults conformed to his discipline, and the rest, without being excommunicated, lived in outward unity with the church members, and might join them upon the same terms whenever they were disposed to express such a wish. Over those who were thus immediately subjected to his discipline, Baxter exercised a spiritual authority, which, according to his own account of it, proved very beneficial to their higher interests. He rarely excommunicated any one, but frequently admonished and reproved them. In order to carry on this work with greater solemnity, a meeting of the neighbouring clergy [a] was formed on the first Wednesday in every month, to manage the discipline of the parish; and the next day the clergy assembled for their own discipline, and for mutual edification; and numerous lectures were established on different week days for the promotion

[a] Baxter's Life, 84.

of religion. These associations were not confined to any particular party in the church. Their terms of agreement were, to join for the exercise of such discipline as it was agreed on by presbyterians, episcopalians, and independents, that pastors ought to exercise: nor do the decisions of these meetings seem to have bound the individual minister any further than as they expressed the opinion of the body. The success which attended them in the neighbourhood of Kidderminster was considerable, and many other districts and counties adopted something of the same sort; as Cumberland *, Wilts, Dorset, Hants, Somerset, Essex; and a society of the same description was formed at Dublin. This association of Baxter's † was composed chiefly of men who, strictly speaking, were connected with no party; for there were no rigid presbyterians in the neighbourhood, the strict independents did not co-operate, though they did not disapprove of what was done, and few episcopalians had much communication with them; it was formed of men who, without joining any party exclusively, wished to do their duty as ministers of Christ.

§. 613. In passing a judgment on such a proceeding, it is almost impossible for the writer to divest himself of his own feelings or prejudices, and as difficult to form any accurate opinion from the practical result, at this distance of time. Baxter [a] seems

[a] It should be remembered that Baxter was episcopally ordained in the church of England, and was always friendly to episcopacy as an order in the church.

* Baxter's Life, 162. 167. 169. † Ibid. 145.

to have been a very zealous Christian minister, and to have sought and promoted the service of our great Master; but during his whole life to have been too fond of governing, and too unwilling to be directed. In his parish he did that which I believe the pastor is directed in holy scripture not to do: he tried to draw an outward line between the godly and ungodly, to separate the tares from the wheat: it is a subject on which the judgment of God can alone be sufficient to decide rightly, and whenever it is attempted by man, it will be apt to render the servant of God proud of his own spiritual attainments, and to drive away the careless from religion. That such parish discipline would produce some good [b], there can be no doubt; but it may well be questioned, whether the private admonitions of a clergyman, and the occasional interference of the civil magistrate, may not on the whole promote the cause of real religion with greater advantage. God knoweth. At all events, the judicial character thus conferred on the clergy must be likely to do them harm in their own minds.

The beneficial effects of the meetings of ministers must depend solely on the way in which they are carried on. Whenever they are assembled by authority, they are likely on the whole to be useful,

[b] Baxter (Life, p. 96) says that, as far as he saw, there was a great deal more religion, and a proportionate fruit of good living; but he is a witness in his own cause, and might not have had any opportunity of observing the good effects of admonition carried on without coercion.

(though, as our visitations are now conducted, they cannot be said to produce much good.) But whenever such meetings are formed of a part only of the clergy of the district where they are held, they can hardly fail to foster divisions, to keep up differences rather than diminish them; and if so, it may be feared that they will do more harm than good. In an age, however, when there was no appearance of ecclesiastical discipline in the church, any attempt at establishing it must have had its value; at that time, from the number of ejected and silenced ministers, it was necessary to supply the deficiency by instructing the new workmen who were thus suddenly sent into the vineyard, and perhaps these steps might then have proved useful, though the plan, at another period, would have been open to objections.

§. 614. If Baxter * were wrong in drawing a line of separation between the different members of a society of Christians, the independents were much more to blame in their strictness with regard to admission into church membership. They required not only a profession of belief in Christianity, and of willingness to submit to discipline, but generally demanded some sort of evidence of the influence of the Holy Ghost on the mind of the candidate who desired to be received into the communion of their churches. They prevailed in Norfolk and Suffolk more than in the rest of England, a circumstance which Neal † attributes to the proximity of those

* Life, 143. † iv. 172.

counties to Holland, which had afforded a refuge to many of the banished sectaries, and from whence they returned, when toleration allowed them to revisit their native land.

As the independents gradually increased, they became anxious to have some connexion among themselves, and wished to possess a common band of union, without destroying the independence of each particular church, which constitutes their peculiar tenet. This object was accomplished in 1658, when they published their declaration of faith *, formed after a conference held among themselves at the Savoy, and which was drawn up so much on the plan of the confession of faith of the divines at Westminster, that the doctrinal works of that assembly have generally been adopted by the congregational churches. Their chief difference consists in the government of the church, wherein they are entirely democratic. The church of England theoretically places the power of church discipline in the bishop, assisted by his dean and chapter, or by certain other assessors. The presbyterians place this authority in the presbyter and elders, or in assemblies of these, making each presbyter the bishop of a small diocese. The independent seems to esteem ordination a mere appointment on the part of the congregation, of one person who shall officiate in public, and leaves the authority of discipline in the church itself, regulating even excommunication by the vote of the majority.

* Neal, iv. 174.

During the same period the presbyterians* carried on as much of their internal government among themselves as they pleased, or indeed could, when divested of any coercive power, and held their meetings for the purpose of discipline and ordination. In 1655 they published† some directions about catechising, in consequence of two catechisms published by Biddle, a Socinian. These directions‡ do not differ much from the canon on the subject, and seem to have been required on account of the neglect of that useful method of instruction, a neglect originating in the prevalence of sermons, and the fancied superiority of preaching.

§. 615. But the whole of this account is that which the puritans give of themselves. If we consult Isaac Walton, whose testimony may be presumed to incline to the opposite party, we shall find a different description[a]. He speaks with regret§ of the former honesty and plain dealing of the people, now exchanged for cruelty and cunning. Of the frequency of perjury among men, who had so often sworn to obey every succeeding government as it was established. He will tell us|| that the common people were made so giddy and restless, through the falsehood and misappli-

[a] Lord Clarendon (Own Life, ii. 39, 8vo. 21, fol.) gives a pathetic account of the dissolution of domestic ties during this period. Children disobeyed and neglected their parents, and the connexion between master and servant was at an end.

* Neal, iv. 74. † Ibid. 121. ‡ Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. v. 351. § Life of Sanderson. Wordsw. Eccl. Biog. v. 483. || Ibid. 512.

cation of scripture, of those who wished to prove that God was on their side, that they had perverted all notions of religion, trusting in election, which produced no fruits of grace. That in many parishes, where the stipend was small, there was no one to officiate, while the strictness of some incumbents cut off a portion of their flock from partaking in the sacrament of the eucharist.

It may indeed excite our wonder that any friends of the church of England should have been able to continue their services under the multifarious persecutions to which they were exposed; and more so, that any fresh members should desire to enter the pale of her ministry under such disheartening circumstances. Yet the lives of Sanderson and Bull furnish us with instances of both the one and the other. Sanderson was fortunate enough, from having been exchanged as a prisoner for Dr. Clarke, and from his own judicious conduct, to be allowed to retain quiet possession of his living of Boothby Pagnel; and Bull, by taking a small cure which no one cared to have, was suffered to officiate without interruption. In both these instances the chief difficulty consisted in the use of the Common Prayer, which was forbidden with a strictness which marks its value; and both these worthy sons of a persecuted church gave way so far, as to comply with the existing authorities, while in their ministration they preserved the spirit of its services[a]. The case of Bull* is per-

[a] There is an interesting account of the manner in which he

* Life by Nelson.

haps more worthy of notice. He was placed with a presbyterian divine to finish his education, which had been interrupted by his refusing to take the engagement at Oxford. The perusal of Hooker, Hammond, Taylor, and Grotius, which were lent him by the son of his tutor, directed him to seek for episcopal ordination. This he was fortunate enough to obtain, by means of Dr. Skinner, the ejected bishop of Oxford, who resided in his former diocese, and secretly conferred the same favour on many others also. Bull thus became an active minister of the church of England, at a time when few could have hoped for her temporal restoration.

§. 616. The majority of the true members of the church of England must have spent their time in seclusion, and generally under considerable privations; for their activity in favour of the throne had been too marked to suffer the usurping power to tolerate them; and it is more than probable that

conducted himself about the Common Prayer, in Sanderson's "Judgment concerning submission to Usurpers," printed among some tracts at the end of the first edition of Walton's Life, 12mo. which is partly introduced into the life. (Wordsworth's Ecc. Biog. v. 496.) He used it till the soldiers came and tore it to pieces; and even then, in all the occasional services when they were not in church. When complained of, he determined to give up the Common Prayer rather than desert his post: he gives an abstract of the prayers which he used, preserving the petitions while he varied the words. Bull did very much the same. On one occasion (Life, by Nelson, p. 34.) he baptized the child of a dissenter, saying the service by heart from the Common Prayer, and then the good people were much pleased with every thing but the cross.

their tranquil endurance of these persecutions created a strong bias towards the church and king during the whole of the usurpation. Many persons who were not adverse to republican principles, could not but feel the cruelty of forbidding men to use by themselves, or in families, such prayers as they preferred. The picture[a] of Fell, Allestrie, and Dalben, meeting in private to celebrate those services which a government, glorying in the name of religious toleration, dared not allow them to perform in public, was not then confined to the canvass, and known only to those who are familiar with the portraits of Oxford. The subject of it must have been one of frequent occurrence, and have spoken volumes in praise of the offices which they loved, and of the tyranny which precluded the use of them. No one can see a good man suffering for the sake of that which he believes to be the truth, without feeling a respect and admiration for him; and among the means whereby the doctrines of Christianity have been spread and fostered, none has produced more effect, than the example of persons patiently submitting to hardships for conscience sake.

The exceptions to these observations, concerning the tyranny used towards the clergy of the church of England, are perhaps more numerous during the reign of Cromwell, than might have been expected from the tenor of the laws, or the proceedings of the government; and it is likely that the Protector

[a] A well known picture in Christ Church hall. See also Wood's Athenæ. Fell, John, iv. 201, edit. by Bliss.

winked at the indulgence which many among the governing party must willingly have granted to their friends, or those whom they respected among the royalists. Seth Ward procured the chantership of Exeter for Brownrigge*, the silenced bishop of that see, and G. Hall, afterwards bishop of Chester, was employed as a preacher in London during Cromwell's reign; and doubtless many other instances of the same sort might be found. Bates, who was physician to the Protector, says, that the use of the Common Prayer† was even allowed in houses and private conventicles.

Many of the royalist clergy, during this season of distress, found retreats in the houses of their friends, and carried on those studies which prepared their minds for future exertions, and solaced them during their involuntary inactivity[b]. Oriental literature, which had been fostered under the munificent hand of Laud, produced its fruit when that prelate had ceased to preside over its cultivation. The superiority of Pocock‡ in this department continued him in his two professorships of Hebrew and Arabic at Oxford, though deprived of his canonry of Christ Church; and the polyglot Bible of Walton§, together with Castell's Lexicon, would, if every other

[b] See the lives of Hammond, Sanderson, Pocock, Walton, Spratt's History of the Royal Society, Frewen, Sheldon, Wood's Athenæ.

* Wood's Athenæ, by Bliss, iv. 248. iii. 812. † Neal, iv. 92.
‡ Twell's Pocock, 136. § Todd's Walton.

proof were wanting, satisfy us of the eminence to which our countrymen attained at this period. Nor need it be forgotten that Cromwell had the merit of patronising this latter work.

§. 617. In the account of this period it will be necessary to say something of the fanatics who were now numerous, and who had rendered themselves conspicuous during the previous distractions of the country. We may indeed derive some information as to the founders and the origin of some of these sects; but the history of fanaticism is so much the same in all countries and times, that it is difficult to mark any real peculiarities with regard to the several forms under which it shews itself. Religious fanaticism generally arises from some real neglect or misconduct in those who ought to be the guardians and teachers of religion. The age which preceded the times which we are considering, abounded with too great an attention to ceremonies; it is not necessary to the argument to trace out the origin of the fault; according to our individual sentiments, we may conclude that the puritans neglected the forms of religion too much, or that the high church party insisted on them too strongly: but certainly forms were regarded universally in too important a light. The consequence of which was, that the relaxation of government, which the rebellion necessarily produced, allowed every fanatic to exhibit his own peculiarities; and ill judging persons, who had before observed that too much attention was paid to forms, hastily rejected every appearance of order,

and disseminated the dictates of their own feelings as the motions of the Spirit of God[a].

§. 618. (A. D. 1649.) George Fox* was a sincere Christian and harmless sort of person, who, having long indulged in mystic and solitary reveries, commenced the task of instructing the world by means of a divine light peculiarly imparted to himself, which led him to despise the ordinary benefits of education, an advantage which, from the lowness of his birth, he did not possess. The license of the times enabled him to spread his opinions, and procured him followers, whose absurd irregularities of conduct would, at another period, have brought inevitable contempt on any denomination of Christians, and exposed the Quakers[a] to just, though often too severe punishments. In the history of these times it is peculiarly difficult to distinguish between the misconduct of individuals belonging to a sect, and the tenets of the sect itself; and in speaking of quakerism, we must use more especial caution, for the sect seems to have had no landmarks which could point out the limits necessary for judging fairly about it. Every enthusiast, who pretended to an internal revelation, held their distinguishing

[a] See the Story of the Soldier and the Five Lights at Walton. (Collier's Hist. ii. 861.)

[a] This name was given them by Gervas Bennet, a justice of the peace at Derby, because their speaking was usually attended with convulsive shakings of the body. (Neal, iv. 33.) One woman came into church quite naked. (Ibid. iv. 139.)

* Neal's Puritans, iv. 29, &c.

tenet; and every man who, in his enthusiasm, rejects revelation and reason, must appeal to a supernatural communication. The quakers were at this time of toleration, in one sense, persecuted; for all men who throw down the boundaries of civil and religious society must be restrained by those who wish to maintain them, and such restraints are, by partial people and the sufferers, denominated persecution; but to speak of things by their right names, Fox, and some of his followers*, as well as certain anabaptists, attempted to interrupt the authorized services of the churches, and were often hardly dealt with, but were necessarily punished. They virtually set at nought the civil magistrate, and when those in authority used severity towards them, they were called sufferers in the cause of Christ: in many cases the severity was unjustifiable, but toleration was even then really unknown, and moderation is the offspring of quiet times; and when the times became more quiet, the quakers became more reasonable. Many of their sufferings were owing to themselves alone; they refused to pay tithes and to take oaths; and it must be a toleration hardly desirable which will allow men to defraud any one of his legal rights, or be contented with subjects who will not comply with the established laws of the land. The punishments were often cruel, but the sufferers generally deserved punishment, for they began by injuring their brethren.

If the doctrine of an inward light be so modified as

* Baxter's Life, ii. 180.

to mean no more than the necessity of divine aid, it becomes a tenet of catholic Christianity; but whenever it is allowed to be paramount to the scriptures, and to set aside the express commands of holy writ, as in the instance of the sacraments, it is difficult to say how it can be esteemed compatible with Christianity; yet this is a matter of opinion, and cannot justify cruelty or persecution. We must not confound in our ideas the present quiet and peaceable persons, who are called quakers, with the fanatics of this period; the term, like that of *methodist*, has comprehended a vast variety of men who have entertained an equal diversity of opinions.

§. 619. This same observation will apply to the anabaptists, a name which may comprehend any denomination of Christians who are adverse to infant baptism, and who will therefore deem a subsequent admission, by baptism, necessary, in cases where persons have been originally presented at the font as infants. We must therefore rank under the same appellation the fanatics of Munster *, the Mennonites of Holland, and the anabaptists of England, who were, some of them, quiet Christians, while others held those pernicious doctrines which must tend to render the name of Christianity contemptible; pretending to be guided by an inward light, they despised the ordinary advantages of knowledge and learning, and were frequently most abusive in upbraiding such ministers as exerted themselves in their professional callings.

* Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. iv. 103, 423.

The antinomians, too, disturbed the church during the usurpation, inveighing against the necessity of obedience to the written law of God, and ultimately destroying the distinction between good and evil.

The family of love[a] made all religion to consist in an inward love to Christ, and were guilty of so many abominations, that Baxter* calls them infidels; but these were not a new sect.

The fifth-monarchy men expected the coming of king Jesus, during whose reign they should themselves be made kings and priests: they were men who were sincere in their hatred of the tyranny which they had experienced, who looked forward to bring reformation to perfection, but overlooked the means by which these ends might be promoted. They made good soldiers under the command of Cromwell, but threw down the fabric which they had erected as soon as the guidance of his superior genius was withdrawn.

In speaking of these men, we are perhaps wrong

[a] This sect owes its origin to Henry Nicolas, a mercer of Delph, who broached his errors about 1540. They were brought to England, probably, by one Vitells, about 1574. They consisted in the rejection of infant baptism; of the divinity of Christ; of the depravity of human nature. The Familists seem to have entertained little objection to the church of Rome, or any denomination of Christians, provided they held the doctrine of "love," which was to perfect human nature, and to establish God's heavenly kingdom on earth. Their opinions differed little from that of the free-willers in queen Mary's time. See the index to Strype.

* Life, i. 91.

in using the term sect at all: these opinions were held by many persons at this time, but constitute of necessity no line of separation: they ever have been held, and ever will be so, while mankind suffer themselves to be directed blindly, and influenced by beings as subject to errors as themselves: fanatical teachers will always find fanatical followers: but the license which tolerated them, and which was the dawn of that liberty of conscience which this country now enjoys, was then productive of much confusion. Men had not learnt to differ in opinion without disputing on their differences, nor had toleration taught them, that to disturb and vilify those who disagree with us in doctrine, must always be a real offence against Christian charity. Undoubtedly at this time the interruptions to the public service were not unfrequent; and the extension of vital Christianity seems to have been greatly prevented by the contentions among those who differed in their religious opinions.

§. 620. While speaking of the morality of this period, we must not forget that no government ever put forth severer statutes* against immorality, or tried more strenuously to promote Christianity as far as the words of an ordinance could promote this object. The same bill which did away the penal statutes for not attending the parish church, enjoined that every person should frequent some place of religious worship or preaching; and notwithstanding all the previous ordinances about the observance of the sab-

* Neal, iv. 26.

bath, they forbad the neglect of the Lord's day, and of any other days set apart for humiliation or thanksgiving, under heavy penalties, which extended also to magistrates or constables who failed in exerting themselves to prevent such irregularities. Adultery and incest were made punishable with death; the same punishment was attached to those who were twice convicted of keeping a house of ill fame; and every breach of morality of this description was exposed to great severity. Swearing was subjected to a fine, and the entertaining blasphemous and execrable opinions was punishable by imprisonment, banishment, and death. The laws too against actors* were put in force, and persons attending plays were liable to a fine of five shillings, so that none appear to have been acted for the space of twenty years.

§. 621. (Dec. 1656.) The ordinance against heterodox opinions was far from being allowed to remain inactive; for James Naylor†, a fanatic more worthy perhaps of a madhouse than of the honour of being converted into a confessor, was severely punished by a vote of the house of commons, and subjected to much the same cruelties as the star-chamber might have inflicted; he was whipped, put in the pillory, and imprisoned. Fry too, a member ‡, was expelled from the house for professing Socinian opinions, and Biddle tried for his life upon the same plea. This error, like many others, spread prodigi-

* Neal, iii. 402. iv. 246. † Ibid. iv. 139, &c. ‡ Wood's Ath. iii. 705. 599.

ously, and we have the testimony of the assembly of divines at Westminster themselves *, who when consulted as to the punishment to be inflicted upon blasphemy, desired that it might be severe, since it was growing fast. The externals of religion were undoubtedly observed with greater strictness, but it seems impossible to conceive, but that the violence of the civil war must have tended to destroy real religion; and however some exceptions may induce us to alter the balance in our minds—for the opinion of Baxter must have its weight—it can hardly be supposed that, upon the whole, the religious and moral principles of the kingdom could have been advanced, or could have failed to be grievously corrupted by the political state of the country.

§. 622. (A. D. 1653.) One of the laws of the Barebone parliament † made marriage merely a civil contract, much in the same manner as is now the case in Scotland, excepting that more notoriety was given to the performance of the ceremony. The parties were forced to have their banns published three times at church or in the market-place, and they were to profess their mutual desire of being married, in the presence of a magistrate, in order to render the union legal. This act was ratified in 1656, but the parties were then permitted to adopt the accustomed rites of religion, if they preferred them.

In a country where an universal toleration of religious opinions is allowed under the same govern-

* Lightfoot's Gen. Rem. p. 49. † Neal, iv. 67.

ment, there is more wisdom in this ordinance than all men will be willing to admit. Marriage[a] is an institution not only anterior to the preaching of Christianity, but independent of it. All nations have connected it more or less with religious ceremonies, and no Christian can hope for happiness in this state of life, unless it be entered into in the fear of God, and with the divine blessing: but a government which extends its protecting hand over all religions, and contains among its subjects persons of all persuasions, may well say, "The contract shall "be civil, and the religious part of it left to the "choice and opinions of the parties contracting." By following a contrary system, we have among ourselves the absurdity, that the ecclesiastical courts have the sole judgment with regard to marriages, while in cases in which the scriptures obviously admit of a divorce, these courts have no power to furnish that redress for the infidelity of his wife which our Saviour expressly grants to the husband; and the injured party must have recourse to a civil authority of so expensive a nature, that unless he be rich, it is useless for him to think of it.

§. 623. Among the difficulties to which the church of England was exposed at this period, there appeared to be great danger that the succession of bishops* would be interrupted, and the following cir-

[a] See judge Hale's judgment about the marriage of Quakers: he would not allow it to be set aside, though performed without the legal forms. (Life by Burnet. Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, vi. 72.)

* Neal, iv. 208.

cumstance directed the attention of the court to this point. The church of Rome had renewed the story of the Nag's Head* ordination, and appealed to the declaration of Morton, bishop of Durham, who was said to have asserted it in parliament. Morton, who was still alive, though very old, published an authenticated denial of his having done so, which excited the remaining bishops to prevent any repetition of the same evil [a]. Many methods of avoiding it were proposed, but there remained much difficulty as to the consecration, the mere act of which would have been dangerous to the bishops engaged in it; and the parties were not agreed as to the steps by which it should take place. The court was unwilling to resign the real power of nomination, and there were no chapters remaining to whom a *congé d'élire* could be sent, and to consecrate without such an election was displeasing to many of the elder bishops. Lord Clarendon wished to feign a total lapse to the crown, but this implied a real power of election in the chapter, which the court did not wish to establish. And the idea of consecrating them as bishops of sees in Ireland, where the king nominates without the form of an election, dissatisfied the English prelates. The event was, that the restoration prevented the execution and necessity of these contrivances.

[a] Allestree was much employed in this negotiation between the bishops and the court. (Wood's Ath.) So was Barwick. Bramhall was consulted on the subject.

* See §. 409.

§. 624. The restoration was probably brought about by a variety of combining causes. Since the death of Oliver Cromwell there had been no permanent government, and the people, weary of anarchy, were ready to receive with joy any power which bore the appearance of a settled authority. They were now undeceived in their hopes of tasting the sweets of real liberty under a republic, and had experienced the tyranny of a military usurper. The presbyterians, generally favourable to monarchy, were now smarting through the license which the independents had brought in, and disposed to run any hazards rather than continue under the rule of men who had done violence to all their principles. They were perhaps at this moment prejudiced more strongly against the independents than against the church of England; and Monk, joining the presbyterians, and taking advantage of the tide which he could hardly have resisted, had the merit of deceiving every body, and performing an act of honesty.

# CHAPTER XV.

## CHARLES II. SAVOY CONFERENCE. 1660.

650. Restoration. 651. Presbyterians. 652. Charles, civil to them. 653. Convention parliament. 654. Difficulties in the restoration; army. 655. Royalists, old and new. 656. Church; state of. 657. Episcopacy disliked. 658. Parties in the church; objects of the episcopalian. 659. Of the nonconformist party. 660. Declaration from Breda. 661. Petition of the presbyterians. 662. Answer of the bishops. 663. King's declaration promised. 664. Discussion at Worcester house. 665. King's declaration. 666. Favourable to the nonconformists 667. Commission for the Savoy conference. 668. The demands of the bishops; Baxter's form of prayer. 669. Observations on it. 670. The petition for peace. 671. Objections to the Common Prayer; ceremonies, discipline. 672. Answer of the bishops. 673. Reply to it; disputation appointed; sinful points in the Common Prayer. 674. Disputations; close of the conference. 675. Baxter's conduct. 676. Concessions which might have been made. 677. Discipline over the church. 678. Over the laity. 679. The nonconformists' petition to the king.

§. 650. (May 29, 1660.) THE restoration of Charles II. took place with such rapidity, and from such a variety of causes, that as no one individual can be said to have guided the event, so every one seemed at the moment surprised at it. The presbyterian party had undoubtedly a very large share in promoting the return of the king, and while the republicans neglected to demand any defences or safeguards for the civil freedom of the state, their friends in the church were equally wanting in fore-

sight with regard to ecclesiastical matters. It may be doubted whether such an attempt would have succeeded, but it may appear extraordinary that they did not make it, unless we consider that they had seen their prospects of reform, both in church and state, prove delusive: and that they fancied themselves too strong in the nation to allow of their being trampled on by the mere introduction of a court; little aware that the majority of the people were not friendly to the strictness which they had endeavoured to introduce into the administration of both, and that a large portion of every society will, from possessing no principles of their own, generally side with the governing party.

§. 651. But before we enter into any details of the history, it will be necessary to guard against mistakes with respect to the persons whom we designate by the name of *presbyterians*, or rather to state the reason why this term will be inconvenient during the period which we are now examining. By the term *presbyterian* we generally understand an anti-episcopalian, one who is hostile to the order of bishops as an ecclesiastical order: now the mass of men, whose subsequent ejection forms the great feature in the early part of this reign, were not anti-episcopalians. They had no objection* generally to having a bishop, but they wished so to tie his hands, that his chief authority might consist in the council of presbyters with whom they surrounded him, and who were to be elected by the clergy themselves.

* Baxter's Life, ii. 278. §. 113.

They wished for the establishment of such a form of ecclesiastical government, as would, in the state, satisfy a republican; one, who might be contented to have a king, provided he were to be nothing beyond the chief magistrate of the republic. Of course, therefore, the republican and presbyterian party were closely connected by principles; and having found themselves borne down by the independents and army, they gladly had recourse to a legitimate government, under which they imagined that they should be too strong to incur the danger of persecution.

§. 652. Charles, who was fully aware of the strength of this party, and how much he owed his return to their cooperation, treated their divines with marked respect; he admitted them to friendly intercourse in Holland, and on his arrival in this country appointed several of them to be his chaplains*, and some of them preached before him. On his first landing he spent a Sunday at Canterbury, and the service at the cathedral was carried on in his presence with all the decent ornaments which belong to our church, and which had now been laid aside for nearly twenty years. Many of the clergy had requested the king to dispense with these ceremonies, lest they should offend the people; but he told them very plainly, that while he allowed others to follow their own opinions, he saw no reason why the same liberty should not be extended to himself; and this course of proceeding was properly observed

* Collier, ii. 870.

at White Hall. It was the policy of Charles to be on good terms with this party, nor is there any reason why we should doubt the sincerity of those kind expressions which he used towards them: but it was almost impossible that any sincere coalition should continue between elements so discordant as a puritanic clergy and a dissolute court: but both probably were injured by the utter separation from each other, which afterwards took place.

§. 653. The parliament or convention, which had recalled the king, contained a great many individuals belonging to the party of which we are speaking, who were friendly to a monarchy, and not hostile to episcopacy; but who had no wish to see either the one or the other raised so high as had formerly been the case. They confirmed* the clergy in their benefices, provided they had been ordained before Dec. 25, 1659, and had been admitted, since 1642, into their livings upon a legal vacancy: and tried to create as little alteration as possible, provided the incumbent had not favoured the king's death, nor shewn himself adverse to infant baptism. They confirmed the leases made by colleges and hospitals, and legalized all marriages which had from time to time been solemnized according to existing ordinances. In all these acts they made no distinction between orders which had or had not been episcopally conferred, and seemed anxious to tranquillize the nation after the disturbances under which it had been suffering. They passed, too, a

* Statutes at large.

bill of indemnity for all but the regicides, and appointed the observance of the 30th of January and the 29th of May.

All acts, however, of the present assembly laboured under one unavoidable difficulty, that their legality might subsequently be called in question, unless confirmed by a parliament summoned by the authority of the king: again, all such men as had in their own persons served the royal cause, or whose fathers had done so, were, by the writ of summons, excluded from being elected to sit in this convention-parliament, a particular which had, in numerous cases, been neglected, so that many of those who most favoured the royal prerogative belonged to it, though they formed not the majority. Upon these several considerations, it was deemed preferable that the convention should be continued no longer than was absolutely necessary, and it was dissolved therefore before the 29th of December.

§. 654. The return of Charles II. had appeared so to coincide with the general wish of the people, that all opposition seemed to vanish before the universal desire for the reestablishment of legitimate authority; but the real difficulties which attended this event were considerable, and if not enough to endanger the safety of the government, were quite sufficient to render the situation of the king far from enviable.

The army formed a body too powerful to be consistent with any secure government, and was composed of many men who, though wise enough not

to oppose outwardly the progress of events, were little satisfied with them. There must always be a great unpleasantness in disbanding so large a force; soldiers who could be pleased at their own dismissal must be very unlike any other human beings; since, having had the destiny of the nation apparently in their hands, they are compelled to dissolve the union which has rendered them powerful, and to descend in private life to a station necessarily far below what they have previously held. But in this case probably many of the officers might with justice suspect, that they had been made the tools of the exaltation of Monk, and of the consequent degradation of themselves. When they met the king on Blackheath*, they were perhaps one of the finest bodies of men who had ever been assembled on British ground; they were now necessarily to be disbanded, and there was little or no money to pay them.

§. 655. The friends of the crown were far from being united. The older royalists had suffered so much from their repeated discomfitures, that they were unwilling to run unnecessary risks, and the late attempts, on the rising of sir George Booth†, had brought forward many men who had before no pretensions to royal favour: so that the royalists themselves formed a heterogeneous mass, the older ones despising those who had but lately embarked in the cause, and who in their opinion had contributed nothing to the restoration; while those whose

* Skinner's Life of Monk, 342; Burnet's Own Time, i. 274.
† Clarendon, Own Life, fol. 20. 8vo. 37.

late activity had exposed them to sufferings, to which they had been unaccustomed, magnified the utility of their own exertions, and disdained the caution of the older friends of the monarchy. These differences were the more insufferable to the king, because from the very first he found himself assailed with solicitations for preferment, which he had no ability to grant, and which his own personal facility prevented him from refusing with ease. Abundant applications were made during the first days of his return to England, and such persons were most importunate in their demands as had merited advancement the least.

§. 656. But the greatest difficulty consisted in the state of the church. The bishops had been driven from their places nearly twenty years before, and had generally retired into the obscurity of private life. The generation who had grown up in the church were at once active and influential, and had found themselves not only unfettered by superiors, but had many of them been admitted into much indirect power, and had been always taught to regard the deposed hierarchy as tyrannical and antichristian. They had universally possessed a good deal of authority in their own parishes, and looked forward in the reestablishment of bishops to being deprived entirely of these advantages. It was impossible, therefore, that they should regard the restoration of episcopacy, together with the monarchy, with any friendly eye. Out of the bench of bishops nine only survived the restoration; most of these were trans-

lated to better bishopries, and made room for the appointment of new ones; thirteen were consecrated during the autumn and winter, and four in the January following; the latter sees had been left open, in hopes that such leading members of the nonconformist party as were not adverse to episcopacy would accept them. All beneficed clergymen who had been deprived during the usurpation, became again possessed of their benefices at the restoration, and all property, ecclesiastical or civil, which had been illegally sold, reverted to its right owners; a state of things, which, though perhaps necessary, was very unlikely to excite a favourable feeling towards those who were thus restored. There was a large and forced transfer of property: a circumstance which cannot fail to create dissatisfaction. The incomer always fancies that he has been injured, and the person ejected feels that he is deprived of what he had deemed his own. All ejected heads and fellows of colleges were restored by an order of the lords*, (June 4th:) and after twenty years of confusion, many individuals were injured at the restoration, who had shared in none of the guilt of the usurpation.

§. 657. But as far as we may be allowed to form an opinion on such a subject, the restoration of the episcopal authority was that which most offended the generality of the church. The point at issue was in reality that of parish discipline. In the church of England the spiritual power is lodged† in

* Neal's Puritans, iv. 240.

† See §. 595. c.

the hands of the bishop; the clergyman of a parish may admonish, and, if he cannot reform, may suspend from the communion till he can have recourse to the bishops' court; but he has no power of his own to inflict any spiritual punishment. He cannot compel any of his flock to come before him in a judicial manner. This sort of jurisdiction had been generally exercised during the usurpation, and the minister held no communion with those who despised his authority: he might in fact excommunicate any one who neglected his summons, though such a sentence bore with it none of those offensive disabilities which attend on excommunication as inflicted by a bishop's court: but then such a power gave a fearful influence to the parish priest. The nonconformist party were anxious to continue this species of discipline: and he must know very little of human nature who fancies that any man, especially a young one, would readily relinquish an authority of this sort[a]. The battle was indeed never fought on exactly this ground, but an examination

[a] See Selden's Table-talk, Excommunication, §. 4. "They excommunicate for three or four things; matters concerning "adultery, tithes, wills, &c. which is the civil punishment the "state allows for such faults. If a bishop excommunicate a "man for what he ought not, the judge has power to absolve, "and punish the bishop. If they had that jurisdiction from "God, why does not the church excommunicate for murder, for "theft? If the civil power might take away all but three things, "why may they not take them away too? If this excommunication were taken away, the presbyters would be quiet; it is "that they have a mind to, it is that they would fain be at," &c. See also another observation of his, §. 675, b.

of the points at issue in the debates about the liturgy* will easily convince us that this was the real object of attack and defence.

§. 658. The tactics of the two parties were as follows: the episcopalians feared that bishops would be converted into presidents of a college of presbyters, and therefore their object was to deny all authority to the presbyter, and to lessen his influence by convincing the world that there had been much of evil and no good in the late innovations introduced into the government of the church; and this object would be promoted by shewing that no alterations of any kind were necessary. The rising generation would be sure to side gradually with the governing party, and it might on this ground be deemed unwise to remedy even real evils, since such a step might induce the mass of the people to doubt of the soundness of the whole, when the advocates of the old constitution acknowledged that some things might admit of improvement. This line of policy was so obvious, that the eyes of the majority of the episcopal party must have been open to it, and their proceedings seen to have been founded upon some such principle.

§. 659. The object of the other party was to shew that change was necessary; that the power possessed by the bishops had prevented the exercise of wholesome discipline, and that the government of the church of England still required further reformation. If it could be shewn that the established

* Baxter's Life, ii. 233.

church was not formed on the best model, the conclusion seemed natural, that some modification of episcopacy ought to be substituted in the place of the present church government. At the same time it was of the greatest consequence that the party should appear to be united—that they should hold together—that if they were to fall, they might be overwhelmed as a body. They probably thought themselves stronger than they really were, and they knew that if divided they must become insignificant. The dilemma from which Baxter and his friends had to extricate themselves was this: if they asked too much, many individuals of their own party would say, that they were not prepared to separate from the church of England, because she refused to grant more than what they themselves deemed absolutely necessary. If they asked too little, their opponents would have to object against them, that men who professed to be governed by Christian principles were ready to destroy the peace and unity of the church for such trifles as these.

§. 660. In order to get a clear view of the Savoy conference, the arena on which this contest was carried on, it will be necessary to take a short view of the events which preceded it; for it is not impossible that the issue of the conference was nearly decided, before the members who composed it had actually assembled.

(April 14, 1660.) The king in his declaration from Breda had used the following expressions with regard to toleration*: "We do declare a liberty to

* Clarendon's History, iii. 747.

" tender consciences; and that no man shall be dis-
" quieted, or called in question, for differences of
" opinion in matters of religion, which do not
" disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we
" shall be ready to consent to such an act of parlia-
" ment, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered
" to us, for the full granting that indulgence." The nonconformists, when they beheld this disposition in the king, and the temper of the house of commons, were naturally led to expect concessions from the governing party, and induced to express their wishes as to the points which they desired to be changed, by presenting a petition to the king.

§. 661. They state that they agree with the church of England * in doctrinal truths, and the substantial parts of worship: and that they differ only about the ancient form of church government, the Liturgy, and ceremonies. They request, 1. That encouragement may be given to private religious exercises. 2. That each congregation may have a resident and efficient pastor, and that scandalous ministers may be ejected. 3. That personal profession of faith may be required of all communicants, and that no one be confirmed without the approbation of his pastor. 4. That the Lord's day may be kept holy, without unnecessary divertisements. They state that they have no objection to a balanced episcopacy, but complain, 1, of the extent of dioceses, which rendered a personal superintendence impossible; 2, of bishops deputing their authority to officials who were sometimes laymen; 3, of their occasionally assuming the sole

* Baxter's Life, ii. 233. History of Nonconformity, p. 1.

power of ordination, and exercising arbitrary power in articles of visitation, &c. In order to obviate these evils, they request, that archbishop Usher's reduction of episcopacy may be adopted; that bishops suffragan, or chorepiscopi, may be chosen by the presbyters; that the associations might be made small; that no subscriptions or oaths of obedience should be required; that bishops be not allowed to act, except according to canons to be agreed upon and sanctioned by act of parliament.

They do not object to a Liturgy, *per se*, provided the minister be not so confined to it as to be prevented from exercising the gift of prayer; they request that the Common Prayer, being justly objectionable, may either be revised, and that certain scriptural forms, to be used according to the discretion of the minister, may be added to it, or that a new one be composed.

With regard to ceremonies, they request that the observance of holydays, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, the use of the surplice and of the cross at Baptism, as well as bowing at the name of Jesus, may not be imposed on any who scruple them: that such ceremonies as have no foundation in law, as erecting altars, bowing to them, &c. may be discontinued.

§. 662. (July 8, 1660.) To this petition the bishops made a formal reply, arguing that none of these alterations were necessary, and not declaring what concessions they were prepared to make: they state—

That the laws* have already provided for the four first requests, as far as is consistent with the good of the church; that the bishops desire that these particulars may be effectually remedied, but are unwilling that private conventicles and other abuses should be introduced under colour of them; that the laws with respect to the sabbath are already more strict than in any other reformed church.

That the diocesan form of government has always existed in the church; that the personal cure of souls is the office of the presbyter, and not that of the bishop; and that when the diocese is large, the law has provided for the appointment of suffragans[a]; that there is no objection to delegating authority; and that though bishops have always exercised ecclesiastical power, yet that they have done so with the assistance and advice of presbyters, as of their deans and chapters, who were probably appointed for this very purpose; and that the law

[a] 26° Henry VIII. ch. 14. An act for nomination and consecration of suffragans within this realm. There are twenty-six places mentioned, for which bishops suffragan may be appointed. The archbishop or bishop was to present two persons to the king, of whom he was to nominate one to be suffragan. The authority of such suffragans shall be limited by their commissions, which they shall not exceed, on pain of *præmunire*. These commissions were given by the bishop presenting This act was repealed 1, 2 Philip and Mary, ch. 8. and revived 1° Eliz. ch. 1. Bishops suffragans are spoken of in the thirty-fifth canon of 1604. It would be very desirable that in populous dioceses they should be appointed now: there seems no legal reason why they might not be.

* Baxter's Life, 242.

will remedy illegal acts of bishops as well as those of others. That with regard to archbishop Usher's reduction, it may be a great question, whether it were not rather composed with reference to existing animosities, than as his own final and deliberate choice; that the election of suffragans is already vested in the crown; that they understand not the term *associations;* and that the use of oaths and promises of obedience is expedient.

That the Liturgy appears suited to its object, and tolerably free from objections; that custom allowed of the use of extempore prayer before sermon; that they are ready to alter any thing which shall be shewn to be justly offensive, and object not to a reformation of the Liturgy according to his majesty's wish.

That the ceremonies are in themselves not objectionable; and that to change any of the laws about them would be as likely to offend many sober persons, as it would be to gain over those who contend for such matters.

Baxter* himself drew up an answer to this reply, but no use seems to have been made of it.

§. 663. Some of the nonconformists now contended, that it was useless to proceed with any discussions, when it was evident that no good could possibly result; but Baxter urged them to go on, while there was even the most distant hope of promoting peace, and they were confirmed in this view of the subject by a promise from the king, that he

* Baxter's Life, 248.

would act the part of moderator between the contending factions, and signify his ideas of what concessions could be made, by putting forth a declaration which should be submitted to the inspection of both parties before it was published to the world. When the draught of this declaration was put into the hands of the nonconformists, many animadversions were passed upon it, and a second paper was drawn up for the purpose of being presented to the king, but containing so much which was more likely to cause divisions than to promote peace, that it never passed beyond the hands of the chancellor. It was the work of Baxter, and though pruned of some of its most objectionable passages by the interference of Calamy and Reynolds, yet its suppression was judicious. One of the arguments* in favour of a moderated episcopacy is, that its adoption would save those who had taken the covenant from the sin of perjury, since they had there sworn to root out prelacy only, and not episcopacy. The chief demands are, for a power of control over the bishops, and of jurisdiction over their flocks to be granted to the presbyters; that the Common Prayer should not only be reformed, but even very moderately imposed; and that the ceremonies should be left indifferent. Complaints are also made, that no minister can be instituted without renouncing his presbyterian orders, and being re-ordained, subscribing the oath of canonical obedience, and reading the disputed part of the XXth article.

* Baxter's Life, 267; Hist. of Nonconformity, 10, &c.

§. 664. The nonconformists* were now desired to state what alterations in the declaration they deemed absolutely necessary; but since most of them were inserted in the document itself, as it was subsequently published, less notice of them seems to be required[a]. (Oct. 22.) Three days before the publication of the declaration† there was a meeting at Worcester house, the residence of lord Clarendon, where, while many of the questions were discussed in a conversational manner, lord Clarendon drew out a petition for toleration, which had been presented by the anabaptists and independents, and asked the advice of the divines who were present concerning it, wishing probably to cast on the presbyterians the odium of a refusal, if they who demanded such concessions in favour of themselves were unwilling to allow of toleration to others. Both parties were silent for a time, till Baxter, fearing lest through their silence the petition should be granted, and that the indulgence thus obtained would be extended to the papists, spoke against it; so little were the principles of toleration understood: indeed, a state of things differing entirely from that of the present day, almost prevents us from estimating fairly the scruples of the nonconformists themselves. When we regard them as factious in their opposition to the ceremonies of the

[a] They may easily be traced by comparing Collier's Eccl. Hist. p. 874; and Baxter's Own Life, 275. 259.

* Baxter's Life, 275. † Ibid. 277.

church, as in truth we must do, we forget that they had no liberty of joining a dissenting congregation.

§. 665. (Oct. 25.) In this declaration the king* professes that he purposes to promote godliness, to encourage public and private exercises of religion, to prevent the abuse of the Lord's day, and to cast out scandalous ministers. That he will endeavour to appoint good bishops, who shall be preachers, and that, where the dioceses are large, they shall be assisted by suffragans. That no bishop shall ordain or exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction without the assistance of presbyters. No chancellor or official shall, as such, perform any spiritual act of authority; nor an archdeacon do so, without the aid of six presbyters, three chosen by the presbyters of the archdeaconry, and three nominated by the bishop.

That cathedral preferments shall be filled by good men; that a number of presbyters, elected by the presbyters of the diocese, and equal in number to those members of the chapter who shall be present, shall assist the bishop in all ecclesiastical functions, ordinations, &c.; nor shall any suffragan bishop ordain without the presence of a sufficient number of presbyters elected by their brethren.

That confirmation shall be carefully performed with the consent of the minister of the parish; none shall be admitted to the Lord's table without a profession of faith and obedience, or who has been guilty of scandalous offences.

That rural deans, to be appointed as heretofore

* Collier's Eccl. Hist. ii. 874.

by the bishop, shall hold monthly meetings, with three or four ministers of their deanery, for discipline, and present to the bishop such as they cannot influence by persuasion. The rural dean shall superintend the education of the children in the deanery, seeing that the respective ministers do their duty in preparing them for confirmation.

That no bishop shall exercise any arbitrary power, nor impose any thing but according to law.

That a commission shall be appointed to review the Liturgy and to make additional forms, which shall consist of an equal number from both sides.

In the mean time the king prays all ministers to adopt as much conformity as they can, promising that none should be punished for the want of it; allowing them to use or neglect the cross in baptism, while parents who differ in this particular from their own minister, may procure another who agrees with them, to christen their children: that bowing at the name of Jesus shall be left free, and the use of the surplice be considered optional, except in cathedrals and colleges. That the oaths of allegiance and supremacy shall suffice, instead of that of canonical obedience and subscription; and that persons instituted or taking degrees shall subscribe to those only of the Thirty-nine Articles which are doctrinal.

§. 666. This declaration contains such ample concessions to the wishes of the nonconformists, that one is led to doubt the sincerity of those who drew it up; for whatever might have been the wishes of

the king, if indeed he regarded the matter at all, it was obvious that no parliament was likely to pass into an act measures which would probably displease the majority of the episcopal divines and their adherents, and so materially change the constitution of the church. The only immediate effect of this declaration was partially to delay for a season severities against the nonconformists; for the influence of the court prevented the execution of the act of uniformity of queen Elizabeth: but when endeavours were made*, (Nov. 6th,) on the motion of sir Matthew Hale, to pass it into a bill, it was thrown out, and the convention was soon after dissolved. (Dec. 29th.) Both houses, as well as a large body of the London clergy, presented addresses† of thanks to his majesty for his gracious concessions; and Baxter, who had previously despaired of finding any thing yielded, which might enable him to remain in his ministry, was so pleased, that he made up his own mind to exert all his influence in promoting uniformity. It was about this time that the offer of bishoprics‡ was made to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds, who alone of the three accepted the preferment[a]. Calamy had been an antiepiscopalian, and it was naturally conceived by his friends, that his accepting such a situation would be a disgrace to his former professions, and to the cause of the pres-

[a] Other preferments were at the same time offered to several of the same party. (Echard, 781.)

* Neal's Puritans, iv. 268. note †. Burnet's Own Time, i. 305. s. † Baxter's Life, 284. ‡ Ibid. 281.

bytery; but Reynolds and Baxter had always been friends to moderate episcopacy, and if the declaration of the king could be passed into a law, there seemed no reason why they should decline being placed on the bench; and Baxter, in his letter to lord Clarendon*, says, that his chief reason for refusing the promotion, was the hope that he should more effectually advance the cause of peace, by retaining a station where his arguments in favour of episcopacy could be liable to none of those suspicions, to which they must be exposed, were he himself exalted into the office for which he became the advocate.

§. 667. (A. D. 1661.) In compliance with the last clause in the declaration of the king, a commission consisting of twelve bishops and twelve nonconformist divines was appointed, (March 25th,) to whom nine of each party were joined, in order to supply the places of those who might be prevented from attending. They[a] are instructed to "review

[a] The whole history of this conference is contained in Baxter's own Life, 303—369, and the History of Nonconformity. I am not aware of any original account of it from the party of the bishops. There are some observations about it in Burnet's Own Time. The commissioners were—

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| A. Frewen, abp. of York, | G. Morley, bp. of Worcester. |
| G. Sheldon, bp. of London. | R. Sanderson, bp. of Lincoln. |
| J. Cosins, bp. of Durham. | B. Lany, bp. of Peterborough. |
| J. Warner, bp. of Rochester. | B. Walton, bp. of Chester. |
| H. King, bp. of Chichester. | R. Sterne, bp. of Carlisle. |
| H. Hinchman, bp. of Sarum. | J. Gauden, bp. of Exeter. |

* Life, 282.

" the Common Prayer*, and to make such alterations
" therein as shall be thought most necessary; and
" some additional forms in the scripture phrase as
" near as might be, suited to the nature of the seve-
" ral parts of worship,"—" comparing the same with
" the most ancient liturgies which have been used
" in the church, in the primitive and purest times."
" To take into serious consideration the several di-
" rections, rules, and forms of prayer, and things in
" the said book of Common Prayer contained, and
" to advise and consult upon and about the same,
" and the several objections and exceptions which
" shall now be raised against the same: and if oc-
" casion be, to make such reasonable and necessary
" alterations, corrections, and amendments therein,
" as shall be agreed upon to be needful and expe-

| | |
|---|---|
| Ed. Reynolds, bp. of Norwich. | Edm. Calamy, B. D. |
| A. Tuckney, D. D. | R. Baxter, Clerk. |
| J. Conant, D. D. | A. Jackson. |
| W. Spurstow, D. D. | Th. Case. |
| J. Wallis, D. D. | Sam. Clarke. |
| Th. Manton, D. D. | M. Newcomen. |
| The Supernumeraries were— | |
| J. Earle, dean of Westminster. | Th. Horton, D. D. |
| P. Heylin, D. D. | Th. Jacomb, D. D. |
| J. Hacket, D. D. | W. Bates. |
| J. Barwick, D. D. | J. Rawlinson. |
| P. Gunning, D. D. | W. Cooper. |
| J. Pierson, D. D. | J. Lightfoot, D. D. |
| Th. Pierce, D. D. | J. Collins. |
| A. Sparrow, D. D. | B. Woodbridge. |
| H. Thorndike, D. D. | R. Drake. |

* Baxter's Life, 304.

" dient for the giving satisfaction unto tender con-
" sciences, and the restoring and continuance of
" peace and unity in the churches under our pro-
" tection and government. But avoiding as much
" as may be, all unnecessary alterations of the forms
" and Liturgy wherewith the people are already ac-
" quainted, and have so long received in the Church
" of England."

Their place of assembling was appointed to be the lodgings of the bishop of London in the Savoy, and the commission was to continue in force for four calendar months, till the 25th of July.

§. 668. Their first meeting did not take place till April 15th, and then Sheldon, bishop of London, informed his opponents, that as the bishops had no wish for any alteration, the first step must be a statement in writing, on the part of the nonconformists, of all which they desired might be altered or inserted. This proposal was contrary to their wishes and expectations, since they hoped by mutual communication to discover how far concessions might be practicable; but was peremptorily insisted on by the bishop, who declared that nothing could be done till all the exceptions, alterations, and additions were brought in at once. This step was likely to produce differences of opinion among the nonconformists themselves, and to frighten the bishops into rejecting every proposal, when they beheld the extent of what was required to be changed: and it may be presumed* to have been adopted by the bishops for

* Burnet's Own Time, i. 309.

this very purpose, as it is hardly consistent with the instructions of the commission. Nor must it be forgotten, that three weeks had been lost between the date of the commission and the first meeting; a delay which could hardly have been accidental. The office of drawing up the additional forms was assigned to Baxter, who had been most anxious on this point, and the statement of the objections to the Common Prayer was entrusted to a committee: but Baxter was so much more rapid in his proceedings, that he not only composed a form of prayer of very considerable length, but brought in a table of objections almost as large as that of the committee.

§. 669. It will not be easy to assign any good excuse or reason why Baxter should frame a form of prayer entirely new, when the commission only extended to some additional forms; he could hardly be foolish enough to suppose that the bishops would adopt it, while the mere act of offering it could not fail to irritate them. He himself says*, that he wished to leave a standing witness to posterity that he and his friends were not adverse to a settled form; and as the composition was his own, he was probably induced to think more highly of the work than it deserved[a]. The method which he pursued

[a] He says, (Life, 335.) when speaking of an objection raised against granting the minister leave to pray "in these words," "or to this sense," which is always the case in this form, that if this clause, "or to this sense," had been dashed out, it had been beyond exception. And again: "They (i. e. the noncon-

* Life, 306.

in its composition, was to follow the general plan of the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments; nor can it be denied that it is an extraordinary production, considering the time he was occupied about it, which did not exceed a fortnight. It abounds in a copious and flowing style, full of scripture metaphors; but to those who love the close and simple forms of the services of our church, and their correspondence with the brief and distinct petitions which we meet with in scripture, it will appear to be by no means free from the worst of faults, that of preserving the phraseology of the Bible, and applying it in an indefinite and perplexed manner, which to an educated man of a poetical turn may prove edifying, but must be generally unintelligible to the mass of any congregation[b].

" formists) offer also such forms as are more unquestionable " (than the Common Prayer,) as to their congruity to the word " of God, and to the nature of the several parts of worship." (Hist. Nonconformity, 201.) It is printed in the History of Nonconformity, p. 52, &c.

[b] Among many other objectionable points it might be remarked, that the confession runs into particulars which could hardly ever apply to the majority of those present. The following metaphors are introduced: "Justice may run down as " water, and righteousness as a mighty stream." " Oh, habita- " tion of justice and mountain of holiness!" In the directions about the sermon it is ordered, that the preacher shall speak " from faith and holy experience in himself," " with convincing " evidence and persuading importunity;" objects, which, however desirable, are hardly attainable by means of a rubric. He calls a godfather, not a sponsor, but a proparent. Surely a man must be very ignorant of human nature, or very perverse, who attempts to reconcile high-churchmen by these means.

§. 670. Upon consideration, it was thought more prudent to send in the objections to the Common Prayer, before this document was offered, and they were delivered on the fourth of May: and this liturgy*, when it had been subjected to the examination of the committee, and undergone some trifling alterations, was presented to the bishops, and accompanied with an address which bore the title of a petition for peace, a denomination which it ill deserved. It was drawn up by Baxter, and read aloud to the bishops, who, according to his own observation about it, would never have yielded to this proposal, had they all known how long and how ungrateful its contents were. It is drawn up in a strong and nervous style † of oratory, which, while it advises moderation, seems rather to threaten those who neglect it, than to pray for it. His argument is, that his brethren dare not conform about things which they esteem far from indifferent, for fear of God's wrath. He talks of their tenderness for the honour of Christ, speaks of the unmerciful impositions of the bishops, even if that for which they stood were of God, and urges them, instead of pressing conformity because it was law, to join with the nonconformists in petitioning the king and parliament that it might be no longer law. He reminds them of the number of ministers who must suffer, of people who must grieve even for their souls, because their teachers could not submit to the burden of reordination, subscription, and the cere-

* Life, 334. † Hist. of Nonconformity, p. 27.

monies; and appeals to their readiness to suffer in their worldly interests, as a proof of the sincerity of their professions. These arguments would be irresistible, if there were no such feeling as that of prejudice in the world: but surely the nonconformists might fairly have questioned whether their own zeal for changing what was established in the church, were quite free from evil motives. Men's passions often carry them against their interests. The dilemma to which they would reduce the bishops, would turn with equal force against themselves: for if they would but comply with the orders of the church, which had been no new imposition, they might avoid all these evils; and the bishops might say with equal truth, that they dared not innovate. The great evil, however, of the address is, that he who wrote the petition for peace did not try to conciliate.

§. 671. The objections raised against the Common Prayer * are so numerous, and many of them of so little importance, that it would but weary the reader to state them at length; while it is difficult to classify or abridge them without omitting something which may be thought important. They premise, that it is desirable that no matter of mere opinion be left in a general formulary, for fear of causing divisions; and request that, as the Prayer Book was originally framed with a view of comprehending the Roman catholics, it might now be altered so as to satisfy those who differ only with

* Baxter's Life, 316. Hist. of Nonconformity, 152.

regard to ceremonies. On this point they requested, that the use of the surplice, of the cross in baptism, of kneeling at the sacrament, of the ring in marriage, as well as all subscriptions about them, might be left indifferent; and that the rubric concerning the dresses might be omitted: that the observance of saints' days might be optional: and that such expressions as implied any propriety of fasting in Lent might be erased.

Under the second head we must arrange such points as bear indirectly on discipline: and here, with regard to the Lord's Supper, they wished that the communicants should be required to give longer previous notice of their intention of receiving: and that none should be admitted to the table, who did not make a public profession of faith and obedience: and that, in order to give time for this, the exhortations should be read on the Sunday before, and not at the time of celebration [a]. That the rubric, instead of enjoining every one to receive three times in the year, should direct that the celebration of the Lord's Supper should take place at least so often: that the rubric about transubstantiation should be restored: and that in the visitation of the sick, the curate should be left at liberty to administer or refuse the Lord's Supper, according to his discretion.

In baptism they requested not only that a longer

[a] N. B. The admonition which is now read on the Sunday before, was, till the last review, read in the service itself: this point was changed in consequence of the objections now raised.

previous notice should be required, but that no minister should be forced to baptize the children of atheists, infidels, heretics, or unbaptized persons, nor of those who were excommunicated, fornicators, or otherwise notorious and scandalous sinners. That godfathers should not be required, but that parents, or proparents, should make the answers in their own names.

That such expressions in the services as seemed to imply that all the congregation are regenerated or converted should be changed: as well as the rubric which asserts the undoubted salvation of all baptized children dying before the commission of sin [a]. That in Confirmation the children should not be admitted without the consent of the minister: that the expressions in the Burial of the Dead, and the Churching of Women, which cannot properly be used of every individual, should be altered to more general terms.

[a] It is curious that this rubric was originally placed as a part of the service for Confirmation, to prevent people from esteeming baptism incomplete without that rite. "That no man shall "think that any detriment shall come to the children by de-"ferring their confirmation." This object is not now answered, while the expression, "certain by God's word," might as well not be applied to a proposition, which, however true, must be proved by reasoning on the analogy of God's dispensations, and not from any one or more texts of scripture, adduced directly in its confirmation. Baxter's (Life, 428,) observation on it is, "It is strange that when infant baptism itself is commonly "said by these men to be a tradition, and not commanded or "found in scripture, that yet they find it certain by the word "of God, that baptized infants are saved."

In remodelling the Prayer Book, as a form of public devotions, they requested that, in order to give an unity to the whole, the frequent breaks and interruptions might be omitted. That the Litany for instance, instead of being composed of many separate petitions, might be consolidated into one long prayer, and that the same plan might be adopted with regard to other collects and prayers, and in reading the commandments: by doing which, many repetitions which occur in the services might be avoided, particularly the frequent use of the Lord's Prayer and the *Gloria Patri*, &c. It was desired that greater liberty of altering the prayers, and of introducing even his own, might be conceded to the officiating minister; and besides numerous verbal emendations, that the new translation of the Bible might be adopted in the texts quoted in the Prayer Book, and that none of the Apocrypha might be read as lessons.

672. After some time, the bishops sent in an answer [a] to the nonconformists, in which they observe, that the most effectual method of shewing gratitude to the king would be to comply with his wishes in conforming to the Liturgy, a step which at the same time was most likely to promote the peace of the church. That humility on the part of

[a] I am not aware that this answer of the bishops is anywhere printed at length. I believe the whole of it is quoted by Baxter, as he answers it: (Hist. Nonconformity, 187, &c.:) from whence I have taken it. A copious abstract is given by Collier, ii. 879.

the governed would induce them to respect their rulers, by obeying what was ordered: while to pretend to scruples, without proving the points at issue to be unlawful, was virtually to destroy all law: and that if scruples were to be consulted, those of the conformists ought not to be disregarded, who would justly be offended at unnecessary alterations. That the Prayer Book had been drawn up with great care, and nothing introduced into it which may not be proved to be taken from the word of God, or the practice of the primitive church; that if any thing of this sort can be pointed out, the bishops themselves wish to see it changed: but that it cannot be necessary to make innovations for the sake of satisfying those, who are themselves the cause that the services are disliked. That there must be some general rule with regard to ceremonies, in which, except under peculiar circumstances, the majority of any society must be bound to obey the judgment and decisions of their superiors, since offence unnecessarily taken by a weak brother can be no reason for abrogating the general law of God, which establishes the duty of subordination: that the ceremonies alluded to are in themselves ancient and unobjectionable, and that the observance of Lent, and the saints' days, had been an universal practice in the church, and ought not now to be rejected.

In the Lord's Supper the bishops seem to have been ready to grant so much as would allow the curate more time for admonition, and to have quietly passed

over the rest. They abate nothing of the rubric concerning receiving three times in the year, and urge the ministers to try to prevent the unfitness of the communicants by their own exertions. They add, that in baptism too much power ought not to be left in the hands of the curate, lest he might use it uncharitably towards the children whose right to baptism does not depend merely on their parents: that the use of godfathers is ancient, and need not be laid aside.

That the use of the term *regeneration*[b] is according to the holy scriptures, and since the child can do nothing to hinder the efficacy of the sacrament, it is charitably to be presumed that the baptism is effectual. That in speaking of others who are not notorious offenders, (for these indeed are already excluded,) charity denominates them such as they ought to be. That, in confirmation, the consent of the minister is very proper, but still ought not to tie down the hands of the bishop in case he sees fit to administer the rite without it.

[b] It is unfortunate that sufficient attention has not been paid to the different senses of this word. If individuals assign to it a secondary meaning, in which it was not intended to be used in the baptismal service, their objections to this service are due to themselves. Probably no sincere member of the church of England ever thought that all baptized persons were living under the influence of the Spirit of God, or that the mind of any one could be effectually turned to God, except through the operation of the Holy Ghost; and when this is laid down, there is no great theoretical difference between those who disagree on this point. The collect for Christmas day is the best comment on our baptismal service as to this point.

That the responses, which are objected to as interruptions, are very useful in keeping up the attention and exciting the devotion of the congregation, and consistent with the practice of the early Christian and Jewish churches. That the connexion of the prayers seems to be good, and that there is no reason why the different attributes of God should not be brought in before particular petitions, each ending with an address, through the merits and mediation of Christ. That the *Gloria Patri*, as a short confession of the Trinity, cannot be a burden to any Liturgy, and that the Lord's Prayer occurs no where above twice in the same service. That the concession of greater liberty to the officiating minister would destroy the very object of a set form of prayer. That it is not necessary to exclude the reading the Apocrypha, since the sufficiency of scripture does not supersede the necessity of other instructions, as of sermons, &c.

This answer is terminated by a list of concessions, which, after all, are not considerable, and will be noticed in the History of the Common Prayer*; but it may be remarked, that three of these promised alterations were never introduced; viz. the insertion of the whole of the preface to the Ten Commandments in the communion service, "I am the Lord "thy God who brought thee out of the land of "Egypt," &c.; in the marriage service, the change of the word, "with my body I thee worship," into "I thee honour;" and in the burial service, the omission of the epithets "sure and certain" hope: the

* Sect. 749. b.

two last of which seem to be desirable, nor am I acquainted with any reason why they were not effected.

§. 673. To this answer of the bishops, the other party sent in a long reply*, containing the chief arguments which may be adduced on the several topics, but drawn up in so violent a tone, that it could only tend to widen a breach which was already too large[a]. When this paper was presented† to the

[a] The preface was written by Calamy, and states the points in which the bishops had not made any concessions. (Baxter's Life, 335.) The answer itself was composed by Baxter, but is too long, and enters too much into detail to admit of any abridgment which shall convey an adequate idea of its contents. It takes up one hundred and forty-two closely printed 8vo. pages: he calls it a plain answer—it is alas far too plain to do any good. He says (Hist. Nonconf. 198.) in it, "Love and tenderness are "not used to express themselves by hurting and destroying "men for nothing:" "we force not all to use spectacles or "crutches, (Ibid. 233.) because some are purblind or lame." He calls the Common Prayer "a dose of opium, (Ibid. 213.) "which is likely to cure the disease of divisions by extinguishing "life, and uniting all in a dead religion." He says, "take all "the world for saints, (Ibid. 316.) and use them accordingly, "and blot out the doctrine of reproof, excommunication, and "damnation from your Bible." It is impossible that he could have even hoped for good from such expressions. He adds, "You "are all (Ibid. 322.) unacquainted with the subject of which you "speak."—"The world (Ibid. 324.) will see that indeed we "differ in greater things than ceremonies and forms of prayer." "All tends to take away the difference (Ibid. 325.) between "the precious and vile, between those that fear God, and that "fear him not."

* History of Nonconformity, 183, &c. † Baxter's Life, 335.

bishops, Baxter observed, that they seemed offended at its length: and as he suspected that no one, except those who were commissioned to answer the papers, ever read them, he strongly urged that the few remaining days might be employed in friendly disputations. When this point was conceded, he tried to induce his opponents to state their objections to his own form of Liturgy, but could not obtain his request; for the bishops maintained their vantage ground, and desired that they might see the necessity of any alteration clearly established, before they proceeded to discussions as to the nature of them. This disputation was committed to Drs. Pierson, Gunning, and Sparrow, against Bates, Jacomb, and Baxter: but the proceedings were carried on with so much confusion that no good result could be expected from it.

Towards the end of the debate bishop Cosins brought forward a proposal as coming from some considerable person, by which an end might be put to the dispute, if the nonconformists would state what they considered to be "sinful" in the Common Prayer, and what they deemed "expedient to be al-" tered." To this proposal Baxter presently sent in an answer, wherein he mentioned eight particulars as sinful*.

1. That no minister might be admitted to baptize without using the cross.

2. Or to exercise any office, if he dare not wear a surplice.

* Baxter's Life, 341, &c.

3. That none be admitted to the communion, that dare not kneel.

4. That ministers are forced to pronounce all baptized infants regenerate.

5. To administer the Lord's Supper to unfit persons, and they forced to receive it.

6. To absolve the unfit in absolute terms.

7. To give thanks for all whom they bury, " as " brethren whom God has delivered and taken to " himself."

8. That none may preach without subscribing a declaration, that the book of Common Prayer and Articles containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God.

There were indeed two more, which he omitted at the request of his colleagues: the imposition of the Liturgy, and the subscription of canonical obedience.

§. 674. This step naturally offended the bishops, who justly reasoned, that if the thing imposed were not in itself contrary to the word of God, the imposition of it could hardly be sinful, however inexpedient an individual might esteem it. The disputation was subsequently carried on in a syllogistic form, and the only point clearly demonstrated seems to be, the absurdity of expecting to settle differences of opinion by such a method. Baxter appears to have been far too metaphysical in his distinctions; and though the fault, in a great measure, lies in the attempt itself*, yet his pertinacious denial of what

* Walton's Life of Sanderson; Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. v. 529, &c.

to most men must appear to be true, will induce us, perhaps, to believe that he mistrusted his own conviction of the sinfulness of the impositions.

Through these numerous delays, which were perhaps created on purpose by the episcopal party, and certainly much augmented by the temper with which Baxter carried on his part of the dispute, the time which was assigned for the conference had expired, and all that was effected was, that the bishops had consented to some unimportant alterations; the nonconformists had shewn what they wished for in the modification of the church: and both parties had become exasperated against each other.

§. 675. After the termination of the conference, the nonconformist divines * waited on the lord chancellor, who advised them to draw up an address to his majesty, containing an account of all that had taken place, and requested that he might himself first see it. He seems to have been most offended with Baxter, and to have thought that if he had urged his proposals with temper and a spirit of conciliation, all might have been well [a]. And indeed Baxter appears throughout the whole transaction to have given up the hope, and with it perhaps almost the wish, of reconciling the two parties. He earnestly desired peace, but it was only on his own terms, and he would concede nothing to his oppo-

[a] Lord Clarendon observed that if Baxter had been as fat as Dr. Manton, all might have gone on well. (Baxter's Life, 364.)

* Baxter's Life, 364.

nents. With this feeling it soon became his object to render the dispute, in the eyes of the world, as favourable as possible to his own party, and to leave a clear testimony to posterity *, that the bishops had rejected that which, in his opinion, was essential to Christianity. He readily put himself forward in the contest with the view of screening his brethren from the animosity of the bishops, and esteemed it a cause for which he could comfortably suffer, being no less disposed to become a willing martyr in the cause of charity, than he would have been in that of faith, had he been called to the trial. One cannot but admire the heroic temper of such a man, but we must be very cautious not to mistake all these feelings for pure Christianity. In this case, they were doubtless mixed up with much which was Christian; but Baxter never once thought of sacrificing in the cause of Christ that which a good man values most highly of any thing in this world, the good opinion of his own party, and the admiration of his friends [b]; had he yielded all that in his

[b] (Selden's Table Talk. "Changing Sides." §. 4.) "When the "pope offered Luther any preferment in the church which he "chose to have, Luther answered, if he had offered half as much "at first he would have accepted it; but now he had gone so far "he could not come back. In truth, he had made himself a "greater thing than they could make him: the German princes "courted him; he was become the author of a sect, ever after "to be called Lutherans. So have our preachers done that are "against the bishops; they have made themselves greater with "the people than they can be made the other way."

* Baxter's Life, 306.

conscience he could yield, the more violent members of his party would perhaps have counted him a traitor to their cause, but the peace of the church of England would probably have been promoted, and the service of real religion have been advanced.

§. 676. When we view the whole question at this distance of time, it is impossible not to wish [a] that several concessions had been made, on points which, while they affect not the doctrine or discipline of the church, have been and are offensive to many who conscientiously adhere to what is ordered; and which, had they been granted at the period of which we are speaking, might probably have tended to conciliation. But the failure in the success of this conference must be attributed chiefly to Baxter.

[a] If the whole services had been shortened; the morning service so arranged, by a new rubric perhaps, that there might have been more unity in the various parts of which it is composed, and repetitions had been thus avoided, particularly with regard to the Lord's Prayer;—if there had been a distinct invocation for the aid of the Holy Ghost to assist our prayers, an extension perhaps of the latter part of the Absolution, in the commencement of the duty of the day;—had the method of distributing the elements in the Lord's Supper been altered, in case of a large number of communicants, a custom which many clergymen have from necessity been forced to introduce;—had the godfathers in baptism answered in their own names, or had a rubric been inserted, explaining the nature of the promises which they make;—had the words, "with my body I thee wor-" ship;" "in sure and certain hope;" and, "it is certain from "God's word," in the several services, been changed;—had the reading the Apocrypha been discontinued, and the tables of lessons new framed;—the Prayer Book would probably have been equally edifying, and less liable to objections.

He was anxious to give the priest a negative power over his bishop; that there should be a certain number of elected presbyters, without whom the bishop should not be allowed to perform certain offices. The declaration had conceded the point, and Baxter wished to introduce something of this nature into the rubric; and he was not contented that the power of the priest over the people should be confined to persuasive government alone; and when he began to argue on the point with the bishops, he became warm, and used expressions which would have been more wisely avoided.

§. 677. The question about discipline is one of opinion; one in which men may arrive at very different conclusions without adopting very discordant principles. Discipline is probably best preserved by vesting the supreme authority in the hands of the governors immediate, subject only to an appeal to a higher tribunal, and to the control of public opinion. Discipline is different from government. The object of discipline is to make the body subjected to it, as effective as possible: of government, to render the members governed as free and happy as can be contrived. But almost every body of men partake of two characters, and they must be subjected to discipline as well as government. A country which does not submit to both, will soon find itself overpowered by some neighbouring state, which has been trained to combine its forces, and to be directed in its operations by discipline. And no one in England can help feeling that discipline should never be

separated from the principles of government; that every member of even the army or navy, when subjected to a court martial, is still an Englishman, to whom the laws of mere discipline cannot be applied strictly, without injustice.

From the connexion between church and state which exists in this country, the discipline of the church of England is of a most complicated nature, and can hardly be regarded as either discipline or government, but must be viewed as a mixture of both. The differences between those who advocate or oppose reformation in the constitution of our church, chiefly arise from this circumstance, that the one regard the matter as a question of discipline, the other as purely of government. The early state of the Christian church required discipline rather than government; and the difficulties with which they were surrounded, rendered the preservation of discipline among Christians of a given society comparatively easy. Baxter's idea of a parish was, that the members of it should be under the control of some minister, to whom they voluntarily submitted, and perhaps some of the opposite party might have looked upon the church establishment as simply a branch of the body politic; but surely it is to regard the church of England very superficially, to confine our notions to either of these views [a].

[a] If the right of presentation to a living belong to an individual, and the discipline exercised by a bishop deprive the clerk presented to it of his freehold, the patron receives an injury, for which he ought to have a remedy, in case of abuse.

§. 678. It is highly desirable that the external circumstances of a clergyman should, as much as possible, enable him "constantly to speak the truth, "and boldly to rebuke vice," without his suffering for the truth's sake; and it cannot be imagined that any interference of the bishop's authority at all tended to prevent this freedom of action on the part of the inferior members of the church: and it may fairly be questioned whether the use of a judicial power, vested in the parish priest, would advance the cause of vital Christianity. As far as the hortative influence of private admonition, there can be no doubt that it was then, and is now, open to a conscientious minister of God's word to speak the most unpleasant truths to any erring members of his flock; yet certainly no wise government will invest a spiritual person with such authority as will be likely to induce him to tyrannize over his brethren. The minister of the gospel possesses an authority which is not derived from man, and for the use of which he is not accountable to the civil magistrate: but whenever he outsteps the limits of spiritual admonition, he will probably injure the cause of religion. If any civil disabilities be attached to ecclesiastical censures, of the wisdom of which there is much doubt, surely it is more reasonable to confine

from the civil court. And yet, surely the bishop ought to be guarded in the exercise of his discipline, or he may be prevented from doing his duty conscientiously. The adjustment of this is the real difficulty with regard to discipline over the clergy. The discipline over the laity is a totally different question.

the power of inflicting these censures on the people, to as few persons as possible, and, as far as can be, to remove it from the pastor.

§. 679. When the conference* was over, the nonconformists drew up a petition to the king, containing a brief statement of what had been done, and an exposition of their principles. In this they declared, that if the civil magistrate commanded that which they believed to be wrong in its own nature and offensive to God, it became their duty to examine into the question carefully, and if unconvinced, to suffer patiently such penalties as were affixed to disobedience. This document too was drawn up by Baxter, but two of the most vehement passages had been previously erased by the lord chancellor and the earl of Manchester.

* Baxter's Life, 366.

# CHAPTER XVI.

## CHARLES II. FROM THE SAVOY CONFERENCE TO THE END OF THE REIGN, 1661—1685.

701. Convocation; the last subsidy granted by the clergy. 702. Act of uniformity. 703. Difficulties connected with church property at a restoration; (a) on church property. 704. Observations on the act of uniformity. 705. Treatment of the nonconformists. 706, 707. Injustice of it. 708. Causes of passing this act. 709. Charles friendly to toleration. 710. Ejection of the nonconformists; reordination. 711. Ejected clergy; Acts of parliament. 712. Corporation and test; select vestry act. 713. Conventicle act. 714. Five mile act. 715. Attempts at a comprehension. 716. Effects of the ill-treatment of the nonconformists. 717. The nonconformists not to be excused. 718. Letters of the foreign divines; evils on both sides. 719. Latitudinarians. 720. Laws against the Roman catholics. 721. Plots; Oates'. 722. Dangerfield's. 723. Danger of the introduction of popery. 724. The commons and nonconformists adverse to toleration. 725. Exclusion of the Roman catholics from power. 726. Policy of the reign. 727. Plague. 728. Fire of London. 729. Oxford decree. 730. Lord Clarendon; his policy, character, and fate. 731. Persecution. 732. Character of Charles. 733. Immorality arising from this reign.

§. 701. IN reviewing the history of the failure of the Savoy conference, we must certainly attribute it more to the nature of the discussion itself, than to any fault in the individuals who carried it on. When men, entertaining opinions at total variance with each other, meet for the purpose of discussing them, unless they are possessed of extraordinary forbearance, the distance between them is likely to

be increased rather than diminished. The only method, under such circumstances, from which any favourable result could rationally be expected, would be, if the more moderate persons belonging to the ruling party were selected, who having by private communication gained an insight into the points in which alteration was chiefly demanded, and were directed by their commission, and themselves disposed, to concede every thing which might be given up with safety to the constitution of the church. Such concessions might then become acts of grace, while angry irritation would be avoided; and if unanimity can hardly be hoped for even from this means, yet the proceeding would appear likely to unite the more moderate members of both parties, (the only persons whose good opinion is really worth cultivating,) and leave the whole blame of the failure on those, who, after all, are determined to continue divisions. Such, however, was not the policy now adopted.

The convocation was assembled on May 8th, 1661*, and its chief acts consist in a review and alteration of the Common Prayer Book, of which an account is subsequently given†, and in an attempt to remodel the canons. A commission under the great seal was read in the upper house on June 19th, in order to give them authority to proceed on this work, and many consultations were held on the subject, but after all nothing was ever done. The bishops appear to have framed articles of visitation

* Synodus Anglicana, p. 60. Appendix. † Sect. 749. b.

for their own use in their dioceses, which were intended to be adopted in common in both provinces. The same convocation continued to sit till Sept. 1666, and as its proceedings were not very important in any other respect, than in the alteration of the Common Prayer, it may be as well at once to state generally what was done in it. A form of prayer for the consecration of churches* was examined, but laid aside, though the drawing it up had been committed to Cosins, and afterwards referred to a committee of four bishops†.

A Greek and Latin grammar‡ was also ordered to be prepared by Barwick, prolocutor to the lower house, who was directed to consult any one except schoolmasters, the persons most fit to judge of it. A subsidy of four shillings on the pound §, to be raised in four years, was granted: remarkable as being the last occasion on which the clergy were taxed in this manner. The original object of the English convocation seems to have been as much civil as ecclesiastical. They granted money to the crown, which was levied by ecclesiastical authority solely, till the reign of Henry VIII.; from which period, each several contribution was confirmed by an act of parliament; the sum paid, depended on a poundage upon the value of each preferment, but the values could hardly have been those in the king's book, since this very convocation formed a committee for reviewing the book of subsidies. The

* Synod. Ang. 107. 118. † Sect. 750. ‡ Synod. Ang. 114. § Ibid. 118.

bishops were the collectors*. During the usurpation the clergy† had been taxed with the laity, a method which was probably found so much more convenient, that it was subsequently adopted. The change was effected by a private arrangement between Sheldon and lord chancellor Clarendon, without any specific act of parliament. In the act (16° 17° Car. II. 1.) which granted a royal aid of 2,477,500*l.* §. 30, it is enacted, that the spiritual revenues which become chargeable under it shall be freed from the two last years of the late subsidy. (1665.) From this time the clergy‡ have paid the same taxes with the rest of their fellow subjects, and voted for members of parliament; an alteration, which, whether for evil or for good, has extinguished the political existence of the convocation.

§. 702. (A. D. 1662.) The event, however, which calls for the greatest attention during this period, was the passing the act of uniformity. In order to form a correct idea of the operation of this act, it will be necessary to observe how the law stood before and after the passing it, without reference to the changes which it introduced into the Prayer Book itself. At the restoration, the act of uniformity of Elizabeth came again into force; but the original object of this act may be said to have been essentially different from that which was now framed. The act of Elizabeth attempted to punish, and finally to exclude from the church, all ministers who

* Strype's Annals, v. 483. † Collier, Eccl. Hist. ii. 893.
‡ Burnet's Own Time, i. 340.

were not ready to conform with the whole of the rubrics and services. It enacted therefore that a conviction of refusing to use the Common Prayer, or of speaking or preaching against it, should, in the case of a beneficed man, for the first offence be followed by the loss of a year's income and six months' imprisonment; for the second, by deprivation and one year's imprisonment; for the third, by deprivation and imprisonment for life. If the offending clergyman were not beneficed, he was at first imprisoned for a year, and secondly for life. The act of Charles II. endeavoured to exclude totally from the church all who were not friendly to the whole constitution of it. It enacted therefore, that every beneficed man should be ejected *ipso facto*, unless before the 24th of August, 1662, he used the church service, and declared his assent and consent to every thing contained therein. The process of ejectment under the law of Elizabeth would have been perfectly certain, if the parties prosecuting were determined to carry on the suit: nor could any considerable difficulty have attended the conviction: and indeed many bills were found against the nonconforming clergy * before the new act came into operation; but a longer portion of time would have been occupied in the several steps, and the asperity of the prosecutor, as well as the obstinacy of the prosecuted party, might probably have given way during the process; a circumstance which would have ill accorded with the wishes of those who now

* Neal's Puritans, iv. 310.

ruled the church. The new law further enacted that every person holding ecclesiastical or academical preferment, or teaching publicly or privately, should, before the same day, subscribe a declaration, "That it is unlawful to take arms against the king, "on any pretence whatsoever;" "that he will conform to the Liturgy;" and "that no obligation "from the covenant lies upon himself or any other "person:" which last clause was not to continue in force beyond 1682. This subscription was enforced under pain of deprivation, and of fine and imprisonment in the case of unendowed schoolmasters and tutors. This bill, which was drawn up by Keeling *, afterwards chief justice, was framed with such strictness, that the tendency of it was to exclude as many of the former clergy as possible; and the question therefore, which really comes under discussion, is, with regard to the policy of ejecting so many individuals at once, and the justice [a] of doing so on this occasion.

§. 703. It may safely be conceded, that no national church can continue to exist, unless the officiating members of the establishment be friendly to the details of its services. Whoever is hostile to them,

[a] The justice of the question can only refer to those who were already in the church. Every government must have the right to say that it will be served under such and such conditions, however unwise it may be to impose such conditions. The act at present only says, if you go into the church you must conform to the rules of the church.

* Burnet's Own Time, i. 316.

cannot be allowed to take part in the ministry. The proceedings therefore which regarded those who were about subsequently to enter into the church, could not, from the nature of the question, be unjust; though the required subscriptions may possibly be deemed impolitic, since whatever circumstance deprives a society of the assistance of any individual member of the body politic, is, so far as it extends, an evil.

On the occasion of a restoration, every sound friend of social order will endeavour to create as little alteration as possible. Nothing can restore to their former condition the families which have suffered in the struggle; and though the illegal transfer of property can never be undone, yet a species of composition may be effected, which may be acquiesced in by both parties, though neither are perfectly satisfied with it. With these views, the acts of such ecclesiastical bodies as had continued to exist, though the members had often been unjustly ejected and displaced, were ratified; and thus leases made by colleges and hospitals, &c. were established. The property of tithes had never been separated from the livings; and the lands held under bishops or chapters, though the reversions had been sold in perpetuity, yet these sales had probably been made at such rates as to leave the purchasers no great losers after an occupation of nearly twenty years, especially as the very prices might have convinced them that the title was never very sound. Add to which, that they who were able to make

such purchases during the rebellion, were little likely to be objects of pity at the restoration. The leases therefore of these lands having during the usurpation fallen in, the churchmen who obtained the preferments to which they belonged, had an opportunity of reletting them to their own advantage; and the distractions of the times prevented the government from taking such advantage of these circumstances, as might have substantially benefited the church, instead of enriching these individual members of it [a].

[a] It is difficult to convey an adequate idea of what is here meant, to those who are not well aware of the tenure of ecclesiastical property. During the prevalence of monastic establishments, the revenues of many livings were appropriated to the support of some monastery, and the members of this body superintended the spiritual care of the parish. These cures were by degrees generally converted into vicarages, or perpetual curacies, held by one of the members of the convent, and the income assigned to them by the society was proportionally slender, consisting of small tithes, or of a money payment. There are even now some livings held on this species of tenure. When, at the reformation, these pieces of preferment either fell into lay hands, or were transferred to other ecclesiastical bodies, the sum previously paid by the society became inadequate to the decent support of a clergyman, who possessed no other source of maintenance: and the tithes, instead of providing for the payment of the ministry of the place, enriched a churchman who had no connexion with it, or were granted to lay impropriators. A considerable portion of the property of some bishoprics, chapters, and colleges, depends on great tithes, which they hold as impropriators, possessing frequently at the same time the right of presentation to the living, which is a vicarage, or perpetual curacy. In other cases, the patrons of the livings are owners of the land, tithe free. These lands, or tithes, when possessed by ecclesiastical bodies corporate, are usually

§. 704. But the question of the incumbency is different; before we can decide on this, it must be asked, whether it would have been safe to retain the mass of nonconformists within the pale of the church; whether, if it were necessary to eject a large

let out on lives, or on leases of twenty-one years, renewable every seven, and the income of the body corporate depends on such renewals: but as these leases had now generally run out, the legislature might fairly have obliged the newly appointed ecclesiastical impropriator to augment the living belonging to the property from which he was about to receive so large a fine. (Burnet, Own Time, i. 320, calculates the sum total of these fines at a million and a half.) The king, indeed, made some attempt to effect this; for in 1660 he wrote a letter to bishops, deans, and chapters, signifying his pleasure that small vicarages might be augmented to 80*l.* per annum, or to the half of the value of the rectory, wherever the whole value of it did not exceed the double of that sum; and it was subsequently enacted (29° Car. II. c. 8.) that augmentations made by ecclesiastical bodies, since the date of the king's letter, should be binding upon their successors, provided they did not exceed the value of one half of the impropriation. Nothing, however, was effected with regard to lay impropriations; and indeed little can herein be expected, till the subject is taken up with liberality by the church: and notwithstanding the munificence of certain individuals at this period, so little was done, that Sancroft (Life by Doyley, i. 187.) renewed the application in 1680, by writing to the several bishops and deans, urging them to comply with the directions of the king's letter, now sanctioned and rendered effectual by the act of parliament. This step was the more reasonable, as some of the worst instances of livings inadequately provided for, are to be found among those which are held under ecclesiastical bodies. The extreme poverty which has been entailed on many of our livings, and which might now have been remedied, is one of the greatest evils which afflicts our church property; and the subject is well worthy the serious attention of those who watch over the concerns of our establishment.

portion, it would not have been wiser to do so as each was convicted of some act of nonconformity; and thirdly, whether the very steps taken by the church did not tend to create the opposition which it seemed to endeavour to correct. It is exceedingly difficult to answer these questions clearly and distinctly; yet some observations may tend to throw light on the subject, and enable the reader to form his own opinion for himself.

Churchmen during the usurpation had possessed so much power in the domestic concerns of each parish, that many individual laymen, not only those who entertained enlarged views of Christianity, but the more numerous classes of the profligate and the careless, had long borne no friendly feelings towards that species of ecclesiastical policy which invested the ministry with this authority. And though the general tone of society had prevented any one from expressing these feelings openly, the prevalent existence of them could not fail to produce a strong effect at the restoration. The presbyterians had hated the government of Cromwell, for establishing toleration and the independents, and so contributed more readily to the recall of the king. The general body of the nation rejoiced in shaking off the chains with which their spiritual pastors had bound them; and when the church party began to perceive their own comparative strength, and the favour with which the people gladly recurred to their parental government, they took too great an advantage of these circumstances.

§. 705. Had a contrary line of policy been pursued; had some further alterations been made in the Common Prayer Book; had the old law been allowed to stand with regard to conformity: and particularly had a wish existed, and been expressed by the upper orders among the clergy, that union might be cultivated in the church as much as possible; many of the more moderate nonconformists would probably have joined the establishment. But the very declaration contained in the act was obviously introduced to prevent the possibility of such an event. To say nothing of the former clauses, who could assert that no obligation lay on any one from having taken the covenant? An individual may rightly deem himself not bound to the observance of an oath in itself illegal; but who shall pretend that a presbyterian, who had voluntarily taken the oath, and who believed in the superiority of his own form of church government, might not be really bound by it, so far as to use his influence, or to exert any other legal power of which he was possessed, to produce an alteration in the church? The point is one of much too great delicacy to be wisely introduced into an oath; but if the saying attributed to Sheldon be true, we need not trouble ourselves with such minutiæ, or question as to the object, which they who managed the affairs in the church had in view *. "When lord Manchester told the "king, while the act of uniformity was under de-"bate, that he was afraid the terms of it were so

* Calamy's Baxter, 170. *.

" rigid that many of the ministers would not com-
" ply with it; Sheldon replied, 'I am afraid they
" will.' Nay, t'is credibly reported he should say,
" Now we know their minds, we'll make them knaves
" if they conform." Doubtless Sheldon might honestly deem this line of policy, of ejecting all the nonconformists, to be the wisest for the church; but the events which have since occurred must convince every man who can judge of such questions, that intolerance is but another name for selfishness, and will generally defeat its own ends.

§. 706. Of the justice of these proceedings it is perhaps more difficult to form an opinion which will be generally approved. The church was then filled with men who having been ordained without the imposition of the hands of a bishop, and admitted by a usurping government, could, in one sense, have no legal claim to their benefices; especially where they were intruding into the places of those who had been illegally dispossessed, and were still alive. Here, therefore, the just restoration of the one necessarily ejected the other; but where the persons in possession of the preferment had acted with the best intentions, and only obeyed that which was, *de facto*, the government, could it be just to eject them suddenly, without even giving them time to reexamine and change their opinions? At all events, could it be just to cast them out of all means of supporting themselves, and not assign them any portion of their benefices for their support? The usurping government, when triumphant,

had allowed one-fifth of the revenues to those whom it ejected for their loyalty, for in most cases this was the real crime. The legitimate government turned out many loyal, though nonconforming clergymen, and made not the slightest provision for them.

It might be necessary, and therefore just, to eject those who were essentially adverse to an establishment, into which they had gained admittance from circumstances; but the manner in which it was done must be designated as cruel. The difficulties were so great, that the wisest might doubt as to what line of proceeding it was best to pursue; and while we blame what was done, it must be remembered, that our reasonings are founded upon much subsequent experience; yet had the governing party acted with Christian charity towards their brethren, had they merely done unto others according to the golden rule of our Saviour, much evil might have been obviated at the time, and that spirit of dissent from the church have been prevented, which even yet clings to trifles too ridiculous to merit the attention of a moment.

§. 707. Had no new act of uniformity been passed, and the operation of that of the first of Elizabeth been delayed for a time; had a portion of their preferments been allowed to such of the nonconformist clergy as chose, in the mean season, to retire from their benefices; the party who scrupled to conform would have been broken at least, and probably some of the most active and zealous of them might

have contributed to support the establishment: but this was not the wish of the ruling party. And even if the policy adopted by them were sound, it must be confessed that it was carried on in such a manner as to render the abstract justice of it questionable. Policy and justice are so linked by indissoluble ties, that one is never violated without infringing the other. In this case there were circumstances scarcely to be called accidental which added materially to the hardship. Many clergymen * never saw the new book of Common Prayer till St. Bartholomew's day: and of the rest, few were so familiar with the work itself, that they could at once estimate the nature of the alterations. In this respect the strictness of the act became a burden even to those who did conform; indeed some persons were ejected who subsequently conformed, and among the rest Kidder†, afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells[a]. St. Bartholomew's day itself, August 24th, was chosen‡, that the ejected clergy might lose the tithes for the year, a severity which can admit of no excuse.

§. 708. The causes which contributed to induce the ruling party to treat their opponents with so much harshness, were various. They had themselves been exposed to insult, to deprivation and

[a] An act passed 1663, for the relief of such persons as by sickness or other impediments were disabled from complying with the directions of the act. (Neal's Puritans, iv. 356.)

* Burnet's Own Time, i. 318. † Birch's Tillotson, 77.
‡ Burnet's Own Time, i. 317.

banishment, and misfortunes had not taught them to forgive. They deemed that the security of the church depended on their being able to trample her opponents under foot. Political prejudices* were combined with their feelings as churchmen; for the nonconformists were generally favourable to a republican form of government. And the uncertainty, as to its continuance, which hung over the power possessed by them†, excited a wish to take the utmost advantage of the superiority now afforded them. The principles and benefits of toleration were little understood, and men saw not that the real interests of themselves and their opponents were the same. The friends of the papacy desired to increase the feuds among protestants, that the oppressed party might join with themselves in obtaining an outward toleration of all denominations of Christians; and if the project of bringing back popery into England were ever to succeed, it must be effected through the disagreement of those who ought to be unanimous in opposing its extension.

§. 709. The inclinations of the king, after his declaration from Breda, certainly disposed him to shew kindness to the nonconformists; but he was hardly perhaps bound by the letter of it to perform more than he did[a]. The declaration‡ stated, that he

[a] See an Address of the Commons, 1663. Complete History of England, iii. 239.

* Rapin, ii. 632. † Burnet's Own Time, i. 306.
‡ Clarendon, Hist. Reb. iii. 747.

should be ready to consent to any act of parliament which might be offered him for that indulgence; he could not have foreseen the probability of a house of commons disposed to tyrannize over the nonconformists; and it should be remembered, that, unless the court had restrained* them, they would have carried things much higher than they did. His second declaration, Oct. 25, 1660, had breathed the same spirit; and when the act of uniformity had deprived so many of the nonconforming clergy, Charles II. published another declaration, wherein, though he states his intention of observing the act of uniformity, he professes a willingness to grant some indulgence to the weak. This declaration, though in itself perfectly illegal, bore with it such marks and appearance of clemency, as to render it less generally unacceptable, after the severity which had taken place on the 24th of August.

§. 710. It is said, that on this day two thousand ministers resigned their preferments. The act was drawn up with such strictness, that it left the duty of the nonconformist quite plain. A man who entertained any rooted objection to episcopacy, to the Liturgy, or to the doctrine of non-resistance, could honestly do nothing else than quit his preferments; and this large number evinced their sincerity by resigning all their benefices. Passion might perhaps have been mixed up with their motives, for in a time of general excitement, it requires much greatness of mind to be free from prejudice, yet no other

* Burnet's Own Time, i. 306.

test could more fully evince their sincerity. The particular which probably created the greatest difficulty was that of reordination. A very considerable portion of these ministers had never received episcopal ordination: and though diversity of opinion had been entertained as to the validity of the ordinations of foreign reformed churches, the question was now decided with regard to the church of England; for the act of uniformity allowed none, who had not been ordained priest by a bishop, to hold preferment or administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It is not wonderful that men, who had long exercised their ministry*, many of them with great apparent success, and whose opinions had always been adverse to episcopacy, or as they termed it, to prelacy, should at once reject a proposal which implied a surrender of their former spiritual authority, in order that it might be afresh conferred. Bramhall in Ireland, to obviate this difficulty, proposed to use a form of reordination†, which should "supply what was wanting according to the canons "of the church of England;" thus waving the real question, by making a compromise to the opinions of both parties: a plan which Overall‡, when bishop of Norwich, (1618,) wished to have adopted in the case of Delaune, a French protestant; but then he would have used the words, "If thou art not or-"dained before." If something of this sort had been adopted, it would probably have tended to

* Baxter's Life, iii. 37. † Neal's Puritans, iv. 314.
‡ Birch's Tillotson, 185.

reconcile many individuals; but the cases of persons who have held preferment in England without episcopal ordination are sufficient[a] to leave the question in some degree uncertain, and would have authorized perhaps a greater lenity on the present occasion. The question for the future was now settled by the act of uniformity §. x: and rightly so settled, if the principles previously laid down with regard to episcopacy be correct.

§. 711. It is of course impossible, from the limited extent of this work, to give any detailed account of the sufferings of the ejected clergy; and we may hope that the evil was much lessened by the general feeling in their favour which these very severities created[a]. The offer of bishoprics had been made to both Calamy and Baxter, yet both these men were, on very slight grounds, subjected to the indignity of a common gaol; and the same sort of

[a] See §. 454. b. where the question is discussed. See also a beautiful letter of bishop Heber to Schmidt on the subject. Life, 8vo. iii. 411. In a plan of comprehension formed by Manton, Baxter, Wilkins, and Burton, the words of ordination ran: "Take thou legal authority to preach the word of God and "administer the sacraments in any congregation in England, "where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto." (Baxter's Life, iii. 34.) Usher and Davenant alone, among the bishops, allowed of the validity of the ordination of foreign protestant churches. (Neal's Puritans, iv. 131.) The question is one of extreme delicacy, on which good and well informed men may well think differently; but the decision of bishop Heber is perhaps as near as possible to the truth. He reordained with the assent of the party reordained.

[a] See chap. ix. in Calamy's Life of Baxter, who gives a very full account of the matter.

persecuting spirit, of which the act of uniformity may be deemed the commencement, but which was extended by the passing of several other laws, broke forth throughout the country; so that every violent informer who could meet with magistrates equally violent, was let loose to exercise the worst of passions upon the nonconforming ministers, whose personal strictness and severity, perhaps unduly exercised when they were possessed of spiritual power, had rendered them the objects of the hatred of their neighbours.

The remainder of the ecclesiastical history of this reign, if indeed it may be so called, consists in the detail of the bulwarks with which the church of England, in her hour of triumph, endeavoured to fortify herself against all her opponents. She was endangered from the attacks of the nonconformists and the Roman catholics, and her friends, not trusting to the force of her own excellence, sought to exclude every doubtful member of the Christian community from possessing any power over her concerns; and imagined that they should free her from the risk of being persecuted, by giving her the power to treat others with inhumanity. But it should be remembered that these laws have, in the season of difficulty, proved inadequate to her defence, which, under the blessing of God, has depended on the unanimity and zeal which any real attack on the constitution, either in church or state, has never failed to call forth; and that these acts, with the exception of one of them, had long been virtually

repealed in practice, before they were erased from the statute book.

§. 712. (A. D. 1661.) The corporation act * compelled every officer of a corporation to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, as well as that concerning the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king, on any pretence whatsoever: and to make a declaration against the covenant: nor was any one to be elected to any office, unless he had received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the church of England, within the year; thus virtually excluding all who dissented, from obtaining the influential situations in boroughs. (1663.) And the select vestry act † prevented any one from holding the office of vestry-man in a corporate town, unless he would make the declaration against taking up arms and the covenant, and promise to conform to the Liturgy.

§. 713. The first conventicle act ‡ (1664) subjected every person above the age of sixteen, who was convicted before two magistrates of being present at a conventicle, (a house where five persons or more, beyond the inhabitants, are assembled for the purpose of religious worship,) for the first offence to a penalty not exceeding five pounds, or imprisonment for three months; for the second, of ten pounds, or six months; for the third or any subsequent one, upon conviction before a court of assize, to the payment of one hundred pounds, or transportation. Conven-

* 13° Charles II. chap. i. of the second session. † 15° Charles II. 5. ‡ 16° Charles II. 4.

ticles might be prevented by force or broken into, but the house of a peer might not be searched without the presence of two magistrates. Quakers refusing to take an oath, when lawfully called on, unless they admitted the legality of taking one, might be transported.

The second conventicle act *, (1670,) which was passed when this had expired, reduced the penalty to five shillings for the first offence of being present at a conventicle, and to ten shillings for all subsequent ones; but imposed a fine on the preacher of twenty pounds for the first, and forty pounds for all future offences; and in case the preacher fled, it made any one present liable to pay a portion of his fine, not exceeding ten pounds, and subjected the owner of the premises to a fine of twenty pounds. One particular was peculiarly severe, for as the object of the law was to prevent conventicles, it was enacted that every clause should be construed most largely for preventing them, i. e. against the prisoner. Proceedings were not rendered void by any want of due form.

§. 714. (A. D. 1665.) The five miles act †, subjected every nonconformist minister or clergyman, not having duly qualified, who should come, except in travelling, within five miles of any corporate town, or other place where he had been minister, or had preached in a conventicle since the act of oblivion, to a penalty of forty pounds, or six months imprisonment, unless he would take the oath against

* 22° Charles II. 1. † 17° Charles II. 2.

" taking up arms against the king on any pretence," a proposition on which few men, whatever might be their opinions, would wish to decide thus peremptorily, and to embody their decision in an oath[a]. Nor were these ministers, or any persons not frequenting the church of England, to teach a public or private school, without incurring the same penalty.

It unfortunately happened that the parliament* in Oxford, whither they had retired on account of the plague in London, were engaged in passing this act at the very moment when the nonconformist ministers were exerting themselves most strenuously in preaching and performing their other ministerial functions in the metropolis. Some of these, indeed, took the oath, but the majority continued their labours notwithstanding the penalties†; while the force of truth, and the feelings of the people, prevented the law from being fully carried into effect.

§. 715. It must not however be supposed that all these laws, tending to the suppression of the nonconformists, were enacted without any exertions on the other side to obtain a greater indulgence for them. Many reasons, which have been before de-

[a] Nothing can more strongly mark the inutility of such an oath than the conduct of the country towards James II. Very few real Christians would hesitate to say, that hardly any provocation can justify such a proceeding: but he must be an incautious reasoner who would affirm that none can. Extreme cases are not provided for in the Bible.

* Baxter's Own Life, part iii. p. 2. † See also §. 727.

tailed, made their suppression to be well received both by the court and the country, so that for a long time, such persons as pleaded for toleration were but little attended to; yet its friends were not remiss in endeavouring to relieve those whose sufferings they could not but commiserate.

(A. D. 1669.) Lord keeper Bridgman, and Wilkins, bishop of Chester*, attempted to frame a bill, by which the more moderate of the dissenters might be taken into the church, and for this purpose Manton and Baxter were consulted. They gave it as their opinion, that archbishop Usher's scheme would comprehend all the nonconformists. That the king's declaration † would embrace most of them, and that it would satisfy many, if they were allowed to exercise their ministry, by the removal of the most objectionable points which had been imposed upon them. The object of bishop Wilkins seems to have been, to have made a comprehension for the more moderate nonconformists, and a toleration for the rest, not excluding the Roman catholics, and proposals were made to this effect; but the house of commons were very adverse to any such measures.

(March 15, 1672.) When Charles published his Declaration of Toleration‡, suspending all penal laws on account of religion, promising license and places of worship to protestants, provided they met with open doors, and liberty of private worship to papists; the commons presently declared the pro-

* Burnet's Own Time, i. 439; Baxter's Life, part iii. 23.

† Sect. 665. ‡ Collier, ii. 895; Baxter's Life, iii. 99. 101.

ceeding to be illegal, (Feb. 19, 1673.) but not before they had unanimously resolved (Feb. 14.) that a bill should be brought in to relieve dissenters, which received some alteration in the lords*, but came to nothing, as the parliament was prorogued. It should be observed, that the friends of toleration wished not for any comprehension. The papists desired that the tyranny exercised against the nonconformists might introduce a general toleration. The court were anxious that the severity enforced by the commons might induce men to fly to the king for protection, and the interests of the sectarians corresponded with those of the papists. Baxter† drew up some terms for satisfying the nonconformists, which he sent to lord Orrery, at the request of bishop Morley, who returned them with his own observations; but the proceeding led to the same result as the Savoy conference.

(A. D. 1674-5.) A second attempt of the same sort‡ was afterwards made, at which Drs. Tillotson§ and Stillingfleet met Baxter and other nonconformists, but the object was frustrated by the disinclination of the bishops.

(A. D. 1681.) A severe law of Elizabeth (23° 2.) against puritans‖ was repealed by the houses, after some difficulty in the lords; but the clerk of the crown omitted to present it at the end of the session, as the king had no wish to free the nonconformist from the liability of being ill treated, and could

* Rapin, ii. 668. † Life, iii. 109. ‡ Baxter, 151.
§ Birch's Tillotson, 42. ‖ Burnet's Own Time, ii. 268.

hardly venture to reject the bill. There was also a bill of comprehension offered by the episcopal party, but not supported by the nonconformist interest; and before the end of the session, when they were about to be prorogued, an extraordinary and most unconstitutional vote passed the commons*, "That "the prosecution of protestant dissenters, upon the "penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, "a weakening the protestant interest, an encourage- "ment to popery, and dangerous to the peace of the "kingdom:" a vote which was justly liable to all the objections which were raised against the declaration of the king.

(A. D. 1688.) The same object was again attempted by archbishop Sancroft just before the revolution, and prevented by the toleration act †.

§. 716. These attempts, however, were altogether useless, as far as the immediate interests of the nonconformists were concerned. The act of uniformity had thrown them out of their profession, and reduced many of them to beggary; and though they were enabled to preach for a short period, during the toleration afforded by Charles, and the interval between the two conventicle acts, yet these were but brief respites in a long season of oppression, till their continued sufferings, and the circumstances of the nation, had prepared the minds of most men for the general toleration which was ultimately introduced. The people of England, though favourable to the cause of the church, became adverse to the

* Calamy's Abridgment, 609. † Doyley's Life, 326.

persecution of dissenters *; some magistrates avoided issuing warrants against them: and sir Nathaniel Hern expressed a common feeling, when he told certain bishops who were dining with him, "that they "could not trade with their neighbours one day, and "send them to gaol the next."

§. 717. The hardships which the nonconformists endured naturally dispose us to sympathise with them: but we must be careful not to regard all their sufferings as if endured for the sake of religion. The very severities of the laws produced, perhaps, much of the vehemence of those who were subjected to these effects: but the readiness with which they rent asunder the bonds of Christian unity, because determined not to give up their own opinions, is worthy of our strongest animadversions. Granting, for the sake of argument, that every objection which they raised against the church were valid; granting that our ceremonies were unscriptural, our discipline imperfect, our impositions needless, they could not have deemed these reasons sufficient for seceding from the church, or establishing fresh congregations, if they had been guided by the true spirit of Christian unity and love [a]. Unfor-

[a] There are some excellent observations which bear indirectly on this point in Selden's Table Talk. "Conscience." "If we once "come to leave that outloose, as to pretend conscience against "law, who knows what inconvenience may follow? For thus, "suppose an anabaptist comes and takes my horse. I sue him. "He tells me he did according to his conscience; his conscience

* Calamy's Abridgment, 605, 607.

tunately, no attempt was made to discriminate between the different classes of nonconformists, who were all, by the newly established laws, ranked under one common denomination. Baxter, who held communion with the church, who preached occasionally within her walls, and gave over to the use of the establishment a chapel * which he had erected, was treated with as much, if not more severity than men who declaimed against her institutions as idolatrous, and urged the duty of separation as strenuously as if they had been attacking the errors of the church of Rome. The warmth, indeed, with which Baxter had stood forward in the controversy, had marked him out as an object of rigour, and his sufferings from disease, as well as the laws, had rendered him very acrimonious in his expressions on the point at issue, and made his language that of a controversialist, and not of a humble Christian who sought for peace.

§. 718. The most unequivocal testimonies against the nonconformists are to be found in the letters of several members of the reformed churches in Holland and France, who hesitate not to condemn

" tells him all things are common among the saints; what is " mine is his; therefore you do ill to make such a law. If any " man takes another's horse, he shall be hanged. What can I say " to this man? he does according to conscience. Why is not " he as honest a man as he that pretends a ceremony established " by law is against his conscience? Generally, to pretend con- " science against law is dangerous; in some cases haply we " may."

* Life, iii. 179. §. 7.

most distinctly the separating spirit which they exhibited[a]. The nonconformists esteemed these laws tyrannical, in which every friend of religious liberty will probably agree; but they deemed the tyranny of a Christian church, which suspended them from the performance of clerical duties, a sufficient reason for breaking the unity of the church, and setting up separate congregations; a step in which few moderate Christians will approve of their conduct. Separation appears to be allowable only when a church is deserted because it holds doctrines which may endanger our salvation. When the question was not about the "*esse*," or the "*bene esse*," but only about the "*melius esse*," they inflicted a wound upon our church, which time has not been able to cure, and created such a spirit of division among us that schism is now hardly deemed a sin. The blame must be shared by those who imposed the laws, but the evil was most immediately produced by the secession of the nonconformists. The antipathy with which the two parties viewed each other was gradually increased, as the struggle was carried on; till the one side esteemed their opponents schismatics, and they themselves were regarded as persecutors; while both gradually approached towards the character which their adversaries gave them. The one supposed that they could engender unanimity by fines and imprisonments, and the others exerted themselves in drawing away as many of their fol-

[a] These letters are printed at the end of Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation.

lowers as they could from the communion of the church. The moderate on both sides deplored the existence and extension of such evils, and the excesses of which both parties were guilty daily augmented the ranks of the moderate.

§. 719. Many of the same feelings existed with regard to political questions, and these mutual errors gave rise to a set of men, who in our own days would have been denominated *liberals*, but who were then stigmatized under the appellation of *latitudinarians*. The term seems to have been first applied at Cambridge, during the usurpation, to men, who having been elected into fellowships, since the beginning of the troubles, were not so strict in their prejudices as their neighbours; who were accused of Arminianism and a prelatical spirit, and denied preferments for this reason. These same persons, on joining the church, were not particularly forward in shewing their zeal for it, by abusing those who had scruples about it. They were friends to the Liturgy, and unwilling that any essential alterations should be introduced into it; and were adverse to the crude effusions, and blasphemous familiarities, sanctioned under the name of extempore prayer. They admired the moderation of the church of England, and were friends to liberty of conscience; being ready to conform themselves, they wished that as little as possible should be imposed as of necessity. Although it is objected to them that they were not sound friends to the establishment, they could not help imagining that the essen-

tials of Christianity are of as much consequence as any external ceremonies. They were accused of admitting innovations in philosophy, but they could not be led to imagine that the church of England need fear any investigation of truth; they thought that her greatest danger consisted in the chance that her defenders, armed with the ancient weapons only, might be called upon to encounter those who had adopted the new[a]. The appellation was of that nature that many persons would be so denominated, who had no very distinctive opinions on these topics; and extending to other departments as well as the church, paved the way in politics for our present constitution; in philosophy, for the discoveries of sir Isaac Newton; and in the church, for that liberty of conscience, which, through God's blessing, has been subsequently established.

§. 720. Many of the laws which have been already mentioned, bore with equal severity on the Roman catholics; but the hopes of the members of this communion were supported by the divisions among protestants, and the prospect of introducing their own tenets, through the violence of which the two parties were mutually guilty.

The Corporation Act disabled them from holding any situations in boroughs, (1672,) and the Test* threw them out of all offices, or places of trust or profit; for it enacted that persons filling such em-

[a] This account is taken from a tract published in the Phœnix, ii. 501. See also an article in Butler's Roman Catholics, iii. 141.

* 25° Charles II. 2.

ployments, should not only take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receive the eucharist according to the rites of the church of England, but make also a declaration against transubstantiation. Any act performed in executing the office, after refusing to take the oaths or the sacrament, incapacitated the offender from prosecuting in any suit of law, and subjected him to a fine of 500*l*. The law, however, which affected them most severely, was that which excluded them from both houses of parliament, by enacting * (1678) that no one should sit or vote in either house till they had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and signed a declaration against transubstantiation, the invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass, and adding that this declaration was made without any mental reservation, or idea that it could be dispensed with by the pope. The penalty was a fine of 500*l*., and the seat of a commoner was rendered vacant, and the peer disabled from sitting during the parliament. The same penalty was incurred by a popish recusant convict coming into the presence of the king or queen. The duke of York was excepted from the operation of this act. These enactments were nugatory with regard to a king who was determined to govern without laws and without a parliament; but had one injurious effect, that they tended to unite every friend of the Roman catholic religion in firm adherence to the crown, when the crown was opposed to the liberties of the subject.

* 30° Charles II. stat. 2. c. 1.

§. 721. The warmth with which all parties regarded each other was kept up, and the mind of the nation retained in this unnatural state of excitation, by many plots, real and pretended, with which the country was agitated. To say nothing of other disturbances, Venner, and some fifth-monarchy men, threw London into a state of great alarm, but were immediately suppressed. (1661.) Phillips, Stubbs, and two others, were executed (1662) for another conspiracy; and the year afterwards (1663) twenty-one conspirators were put to death in the north. But the plot* (1678) which caused the greatest agitation was that, with the discovery of which the name of Titus Oates has been so constantly connected, that it is generally known by the appellation of Oates's plot. He stated himself to have been engaged with the Roman catholics at home and abroad, and now brought forward the evidence of a plot framed in order to introduce the Roman catholic religion into England, and to murder the king. For this plot ten laymen† and seven priests of that persuasion suffered, and seventeen more were condemned to death, some of whom died in prison; yet it is still a question whether the whole of the evidence under which they were convicted were not fictitious. There can probably be no doubt in the mind of any one, that there was a plot generally to introduce the Roman catholic religion; and the conspirators, among whom were some of the most exalted persons in the coun-

* Rapin, ii. 688; Welwood's Memoirs, 128. † Butler's Roman Catholics, iii. 74.

try, might have been little scrupulous as to the means of effecting their object: but whether the intention of murdering the king were ever seriously entertained is very problematical; and sir Walter Scott has, with his usual skill, taken advantage of the violence raised by this question, when he makes Charles say, "I can scarce escape suspicion of the "plot myself, though the principal object of it is to "take away my own life." Men believed the evidence which was sworn to by the witnesses, and a jury which did so, could not but convict the prisoners; but, unfortunately, perjury was by no means uncommon at this period. The conviction of Oates himself, and the severity with which he was treated in the next reign, does not invalidate the evidence, because it proves too much, and only really shews the temper with which both parties could act, when they were possessed of power. The excitement occasioned by this plot enabled lord Shaftesbury to carry the bill which excluded Roman catholics from the two houses, and we owe to it the passing of the Habeas Corpus.

§. 722. In order to counteract the fatal effects which this plot was inflicting on the Roman catholics, a sham plot was contrived for the purpose of throwing the odium on the presbyterians, and the heads of the country party; but Dangerfield, who was chiefly concerned in it, discovered the truth; and the attempt only tended to confirm the kingdom in its opinion of the danger from the Roman catholics, and to create a greater dislike to them: while

it contributed to convince all sober minded persons, that no one could be safe under such a government, or guard against the effects of perjury and a prejudiced or packed jury: a truth which was more sadly confirmed by the fate of lord Russell and Algernon Sidney*, who, whatever might have been their guilt, were in all probability unjustly condemned[a]: and indeed, throughout the latter part of this reign, the law seems to have been made an engine rather for the oppression of the subject than for his defence.

§. 723. The circumstance, that the heir presumptive to the crown was a Roman catholic, and anxious to introduce his own religion into the country, together with a well founded belief that the king himself secretly belonged to that communion, could not fail to raise a very general idea that the stability of the church was in danger: but the whole of this question properly belongs to the civil historian. There was no probability that the Roman catholics would be able to convert the protestants, or establish their religion, by any other methods than those which must first have destroyed the liberty of the subject; except, indeed, inasmuch as the violence with which

[a] The question seems to turn on the truth of the evidence. A juryman who believed the evidence, could hardly help convicting him. If a man meet a party frequently, who are plotting to overthrow a government by force, and is present when some of them are despatched to see whether the guards may be surprised; surely he must, *in foro conscientiæ* as well as *legali*, be guilty of treason. I own I do not believe the evidence.

* Rapin, ii. 729, 730.

the protestants attacked each other, might induce the timid members of their communion to throw themselves into the arms of the church of Rome, and to seek to quiet their doubts under the treacherous security of her infallibility.

The real state of the question seems to be this. The Roman catholics were more friendly to arbitrary power than the presbyterians; they possessed a more gentlemanly religion, to adopt the idea of Charles II; and the church of England lying between the two, approaching to the church of Rome in the imitation of ancient rites and ceremonies, and in her respect for antiquity, and coinciding with the rest of the reformed churches in her strict agreement with the scriptures in point of doctrine, drew nearest to the former when the country seemed in danger from republicanism; but when the change in the face of politics marked out the evils which were to be apprehended from arbitrary power and the introduction of the Roman catholic religion, the high and the low church parties joined to repel the threatened invasion, and raised the cry of "No popery." It is difficult however to suppose that either Charles or James, at this time, cared more for religion than as it affected politics, or that Shaftesbury sought for any thing beyond the establishment of his own influence, and the predominance of those principles which he had himself espoused. But these observations must not be extended to the country. When the feeling was excited, men entertained it according to their tempers. In the estimation of the

sincere, it was a point in which religion was closely concerned; and as those who cared not for religion gave it the same denomination, it became one of those mixed questions which agitate the country with the greatest vehemence: one in which the religious scruples of the people are apparently joined with their temporal interests.

§. 724. It was from these reasons that the commons viewed with alarm two attempts which were made by the king to grant indulgence to those who differed from the church. (Dec. 26, 1662.) Charles had published a declaration for liberty of conscience*, wherein, among other things, he says, "that all his "subjects might, with minds happily composed by "his indulgence, apply themselves to their several "vocations:" and in his speech at the opening of parliament, he says, "And yet if the dissenters will "demean themselves peaceably and modestly under "the government, I could heartily wish I had such "a power of indulgence to use upon occasions, as "might not needlessly force them out of the king-"dom, or, staying here, give them cause to conspire "against the peace of it." This step created so great a terror, that the commons voted an address against any indulgence to those who presume to dissent from the act of uniformity, and the religion established by law; and many reasons are assigned why such an indulgence was unadvisable, particularly since continual concession must at length lead to a general toleration. A similar attempt was made

* Echard, 806.

(March 15, 1672) when the king* published a declaration of toleration which suspended all the penal laws on account of religion, and the result was the same.

The presbyterians were as adverse as the church to toleration. The mass of the people, and their representatives, were unwilling to make concession, or to grant indulgence to the nonconformists, and even less favourable to the Roman catholics: while every true lover of his country must have been alarmed at seeing the king assume to himself a power, which the disorganized state of the kingdom appeared to render in some degree necessary; but which was inconsistent with the due observance of the laws, since all enactments must be nugatory, if the crown can dispense with them. The Roman catholics and the court desired that the severities exercised on the nonconformists should so dissatisfy the minds of sober men, that they might all readily embrace a toleration flowing entirely from the crown: the country party dreaded the assumption of such a power; but, till the difficulties which preceded the revolution had convinced the nation of the necessity of toleration, no one seemed willing to concede such liberty to others as he justly claimed for himself.

§. 725. The nonconformists are often praised for the disinterested readiness with which they declined accepting a toleration granted to themselves, upon condition that the Roman catholics should share in it; but though we can account for such feelings, we can hardly applaud the liberality of men, who would

* See §. 715.

rather give up their own liberty in religious matters, than suffer their neighbours to worship God as they pleased. The exclusion of the Roman catholics from places of trust and from the two houses, and the attempt to deprive the duke of York of his right of succession to the crown, stand on totally different grounds from the question of toleration. It must be the inherent right of every body politic to defend itself: if, therefore, the constitution would be endangered by committing power into the hands of those who entertain opinions inconsistent with the safety of the state, the supreme authority of a kingdom must have a power of making such an exclusion: it can only be defended on the plea of necessity, and if necessary it must be just. The common safety of the whole must give the captain of a ship the right of throwing the property of his passengers into the sea: but unless he can shew that the safety of the whole depends on his doing so, he will have much difficulty in persuading his passengers to consent to the measure; yet it may become his duty to take the responsibility of such an act upon himself. The policy and the justice of each of these proceedings are inseparable, and depend entirely on the necessity. All exclusion is, *per se*, an evil; circumstances may render it the less of two evils; but no Christian country can have a right to hinder men from worshipping God according to their own fashion, provided it be done peaceably, and without disturbance to society.

§. 726. It would be totally inconsistent with the

plan of this work, to enter into any description of the policy of this reign. It consisted in a variety of contrivances, by which the crown endeavoured to obtain money from a yielding parliament, and the bargains which the house of commons made for each of its concessions; bargains, in which the welfare of one part of the community, and the well being of the whole, were sacrificed to the supposed interests of the rest. The money was no sooner obtained than it was squandered on the most unworthy purposes, and the liberty of the subject preserved, not by any constitutional stand or carefulness in the parliament, but because the prodigality of the court always kept the king at the mercy of his people.

§. 727. Among the various calamities which attended this eventful reign, there are two of so marked a character, that we can hardly omit the mention of them; particularly as they each tended to call forth the energies of the church and the nonconformists; and furnished a short space of time, during which the labours of both were directed to the same important object.

The plague broke out in London in May 1665, and raged with greater or less violence till the fire put an end to its contagion. The upper orders, generally speaking, fled, to avoid its ravages, and unfortunately some of the London clergy imitated their example*; but their places were quickly filled with the nonconformists[a], and the near prospect of

[a] There died of the plague 68,596 persons within the bills of

* Echard, 823.

death caused a strong effect on the minds of many persons*, to whom the ministers of God's word addressed themselves. Writers who have described the events which attended this pestilence, speak of the religious impressions which were generally produced on the people; and though there was a dreadful continuance of vicious indulgence, which shewed itself in many cases, yet the effect was ordinarily much stronger on the other side, and promoted the reformation of morals. It might prove a useful speculation to compare the effects of such visitations on heathen and on Christian countries. In Athens it produced an extraordinary excess of immorality of every description. In London, though gross vice still in some measure prevailed, yet men were ordinarily turned towards religion; the churches were crowded by persons exhibiting every outward appearance of piety, and the very exclamations heard in the streets partook of a devotional character. Nothing but the pure and revealed word of God can impress upon the mind of man a real belief in a future state; and few who possess a practical faith in this doctrine could fail to be influenced by it, at least for the time, and frightened by such a tremendous warning into some species of reformation.

mortality. Among those who exerted themselves in this season of distress, the names of the duke of Albemarle, Sheldon archbishop of Canterbury, and lord Craven, must not be forgotten. Thomas Vincent, a Westminster student of Christ Church, wrote an account of it: he stayed in London and preached during the whole time.

* Baxter's Life, iii. 2.

§. 728. (Sept. 1666.) The fire of London was one of the most terrible afflictions which ever befell a devoted city; and though the lives of the inhabitants were spared, yet their property was so generally destroyed, that the most active exertions on the part of the benevolent could not prevent a very considerable quantity of actual suffering. Many of the nonconformist ministers were especially injured, since London formed a great bank of charity from whence their necessities had been supplied, and the present distress not only disabled some of those who contributed to their support, but diverted much of the beneficence of the kingdom into a new channel. This visitation, however, did not produce the good which might have been expected from it. The violence which had long exasperated the two parties in the church was far from being appeased: in reflecting on these calamitous events, each threw the blame on their opponents: the one reprobated the schismatic temper of the nonconformists, the other declaimed against the perjury and tyranny of the hierarchy *, but neither confessed their own offences.

As eighty-nine churches were destroyed, and the great mass of the population remained, the nonconformists gladly exerted themselves in opening such meetings for public worship as could most easily be provided, and the obvious necessity of the case prevented any opposition which might otherwise have been raised to such an attempt: but unfortunately the doctrines which were then prevalent in the king-

* Baxter, iii. 18.

dom breathed not that spirit of reconciliation which might have promoted the cause of Christianity. It happened indeed most providentially, that several of the parish churches which were preserved, were in the hands of the most moderate and ablest of the clergy of the day, as Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Outram, and Patric: but their exertions were productive of less good, since many of the nonconformists exhibited so great a dislike to the Common Prayer, that they either refused to join with conformable ministers, or at least to be present at the Liturgy and sacraments.

§. 729. The evil tendency of such schismatic notions, joined with much of disaffection towards the crown, which continued to increase during the whole of this reign, naturally produced a contrary feeling on the part of the church: and many churchmen, in their zeal to controvert what was wrong in these opinions, ran into the extremes of passive obedience and non-resistance, a doctrine which, during the latter years of the life of Charles II, seemed equally espoused by the court and the pulpit, the bench and the bar *. (1683.) Under the impulse of this increasing zeal, the university of Oxford made a solemn decree, which passed in the convocation there on the same day as the execution of lord Russell, and presented it to the king, under this title †, "The "judgment and decree of the university of Oxford, "passed in their convocation on July 21, 1683, "against certain pernicious books, and damnable

* Echard, 1036. † Rapin, ii. 730. Kennet, iii. 419.

" doctrines, destructive of the sacred persons of " princes, their state and government, and of all hu- " man society;" in which decree they formally condemned twenty-seven propositions collected out of several modern authors. This decree is attributed to Dr. Jane, regius professor of divinity, who was in consequence made dean of Gloucester, and who, upon the revolution, again sought for preferment by changing his sentiments. The declaration was affixed in the college halls, and remained there till, in 1688, it was displaced by the arrival of the new governors [a].

§. 730. In reviewing the history of the reign, if it were attempted to describe the characters of all those who took a prominent part in the affairs of it, the task would require a volume for itself: but there is one man who must not be overlooked.

Lord Clarendon shewed so much wisdom in the treatment of the republicans whose services he accepted, that it is difficult to understand why the same minister should have adopted a contrary policy with regard to the affairs of the church. Burnet's *

[a] These proceedings were so justly offensive to some of the younger students, who in those days published their satire in Latin verses, that many epigrams were written on him. Among the rest:

Cum fronti sit nulla fides, ut carmina dicunt,
Cur tibi bifronti, Jane, sit ulla fides?

And again—

Decretum figis solenne, Decanus ut esses:
Ut fieres præsul, Jane, refigis idem.

* Own Time, i. 305.

account of this matter, therefore, may possibly contain some truth, where he states that the chancellor would have fallen into more moderate counsels towards the nonconformists, had he not been unwilling to disoblige the bishops, who had been very kind to him, in the affair wherein his daughter's honour was concerned; and that his friend lord Southampton was disposed to have been very moderate. In the transactions connected with the Savoy conference, lord Clarendon does not appear to have been adverse to the nonconformists; but the real state of the question, as it was gradually developed to those who were engaged in the government, may fully account for this difference in his conduct. At first he seems to have been equally ready to conciliate the enemies of the monarchy both in church and state; but when he came to act, he found the characters of the parties so dissimilar, that he was led to pursue a very different line of treatment towards them. The republican statesmen were possessed of enlarged views, and were in many cases willing to fall in with the measures which the altered state of the kingdom required. The presbyterian churchmen were men of contracted notions, who would make no allowances for the opinions of others, or concessions from their own decisions. No one can examine the Savoy conference without being convinced that men of such tempers were unable to govern, or to legislate for any church.

A wiser policy might probably have broken the party, and greater concessions would perhaps have

conciliated many, but mankind had not then learnt, nor could they foresee and know, the benefits which toleration was likely to produce. Lord Clarendon therefore thought, with others, that nothing but severity could give security to the church; and this idea predominated till the course of events convinced every one that divisions among protestants could neither give safety to the church or advance the cause of religion.

§. 731. The fate of the lord chancellor was such as might have been naturally anticipated; his misfortune seems to have been, that he did not retire from his preeminent station sufficiently early. He had been raised too high for a subject, and he could not hope to govern or to guide a man so vicious as the king. When he found that his power of acting rightly had ceased, he should have withdrawn from the scene; but he esteemed himself bound to support the measures of the court, though he did not approve of them, and his high station compelled him to take a share in whatever was done; so that though he concurred in the treatment of the nonconformists, we can hardly be sure that he might not have adopted a more enlightened policy, had he been able to direct the government in all its details. The general feeling of the country was probably the real cause of whatever was now done in this respect. Baxter, in his own life, is often violent in the blame which he throws on the bishops, for persecuting, with all the severity of the law, their nonconforming brethren: and particularizes Sheldon

and Ward *. These men were both of them very influential persons in the concerns of the church, and therefore the policy which was adopted must in some measure be referred to them; but Baxter himself never seems to possess those extended views which could comprehend that men, who differed entirely from himself in their opinions, might still be sincere and conscientious in their proceedings. These bishops were probably never guilty of any acts of severity, to which those who approved of their line of policy would honestly object. They tried to reduce the nonconformists by force of law, and not by conciliation; and many persons may even now think that they were right, and that their principles were sound. Persecution of every sort is unchristian, but he must be very ignorant of human nature who presumes to assert that every one who wishes to persecute must be entirely unchristian. What would have been the fate of churchmen if the nonconformists had predominated? And yet there were many very good men among them. A spirit of toleration is one which his own heart will never teach to any one: and it is only by degrees that nations learn the virtue of moderation. In looking at this point during the usurpation, and at the restoration, it would be useless and invidious to draw comparisons. Severity and injustice might have been expected from rebels, even though driven into rebellion by oppression; but where a legitimate government throws off the fostering care which it should exhibit towards

* iii. 3.

all its children collectively, and tries to uphold its own selfish power by balancing against each other those whom it should have endeavoured to unite; when the church, which we admire and love, took part in this disgraceful struggle; it cannot but point out to us the insufficiency of the best of human policy and human institutions, and make us look up to that power which has preserved us, and which can alone vouchsafe to continue our existence.

§. 732. Charles himself sought rather to escape from the trouble of governing, than was anxious to tyrannize over others: his wish for arbitrary power arose from the delusive hope, that it would free him from those disturbances to which he found himself continually exposed: he did not desire * to be like a grand signior, but he did not think himself a king while a company of fellows were looking into all his actions, and examining his ministers as well as his accounts; and he expected that, by balancing the church party against the dissenters, he might be able to hold the reins in his own hands: he was rapacious in seeking money for the sake of squandering it on his favourites; and if the opinion of Coleman, secretary to his brother, may be trusted, there was nothing which he would not do for the sake of obtaining it. He conformed in religious matters outwardly with the church of England †, and it may be a question whether he did not join the church of Rome rather for the sake of that fallacious ease which that sect could impart to his troubled and

* Burnet's Own Time, ii. 1. † Welwood, 148.

wavering conscience, than for any better reason. He treated his wife as kindly as any man of his vicious habits could do, and he was the slave of his mistresses. His natural talents are described as being considerable, and he was possibly a better politician than any of his ministers, but he was disgusted with business by lord Clarendon, and latterly gave himself up to the guidance of his brother, who being perhaps at that time as bad a man, was certainly a much worse monarch. The circumstance which must load Charles and his brother with a political infamy, which nothing can wipe away, was the manner in which they separated their own supposed interest from that of their country. Because they could not govern England according to their own wishes, they were ready to become themselves the pensionaries of France, and to sell the interests of Britain, that they might obtain the means of enslaving it. This project seems to have flowed from James, rather than from Charles; but it is shameless enough even to have entertained the idea.

§. 733. The natural tendency of such a reign was to create a most stupendous degree of profligacy, moral and political; and this fruit was produced in abundance. Perhaps there never was a more disgraceful public act than the stoppage of the treasury, and certainly all authors agree that this country was never more degraded in its morality than while Charles II. was king. Religion, instead of reforming these evils, was itself the most fertile cause of contention, and fostered every evil passion with

which human nature is corrupted: gross profligacy will easily taint the breasts of the thoughtless and the worldly, but religious discord takes away the savour from that salt which should season the whole: at once infects whatever is most valuable in the community, and renders even the expectation of amendment distant and uncertain. Fanaticism and a false discipline had promoted the cause of hypocrisy and irreligion, and debauchery and vice followed in their train: but party feeling seemed likely to have destroyed whatever portion of Christianity remained, had not God in mercy raised up a body of men whom the very dangers and difficulties of the times tended to educate, and whose virtues and experience were matured by the opposition which they were obliged to encounter.

## APPENDIX E. TO CHAPTER XVI.

### HISTORY OF THE COMMON PRAYER BOOK[a].

§. 741. 1546. The King's Primer, printed by authority.
742. 1548. Communion Service.
743. 1549. First Liturgy of Edward VI. published.
744. 1550. First Ordination Service published.
745. 1552. Second Liturgy of Edward VI.
Second Ordination Service.
746. 1560. Liturgy of Elizabeth.
747. 1604. Alterations introduced by James I.
748. 1633. ———————— and Charles I.
749. 1661. Last Revision. Authorized Liturgy.
750. Service for the Consecration of Churches; political services.

§. 741. IN giving an account of the Common Prayer Book, it will be more correct to describe it as a work compiled from the services of the church of Rome, or rather as a translation of such portions of them as were free from all objection, than as an original composition. The use of prayers in a language unintelligible to the mass of the congregation is an evil so obvious, that whenever men begin to judge for themselves they must necessarily reject it; and the first step which was taken by the church of England is, I believe, now generally adopted in that of Rome; I mean a translation of those por-

[a] Few references are here given, for most of the observations are made from collating the original editions. There is a nice tract on the subject in Sparrow's Rationale of the Common Prayer, drawn up by Downes. Wheatley and Nicholls may be consulted.

tions of the service which are most frequently used. The book denominated the King's Primer was, I believe, first published by authority early in the spring of 1546[a]. The object of its publication was to furnish the unlearned with such parts of the church service as were most required, as well as to supply them with the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue. This book was republished in the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth.

It contains the Litany, varying but little from our present form, excepting that there are certain petitions requesting "the prayers of angels, saints, and "martyrs," and "to be delivered from the tyranny "of the church of Rome." The former of which was omitted in the Prayer Book of Edward VI. and both in that of Elizabeth. In the Dirige, or service for the dead, all the Primers contain prayers for departed souls, which is the more extraordinary with regard to that published during the reign of Elizabeth, since this point had been altered in the second

[a] Before this, about 1535, a book called by the same name, and written, or rather compiled by Cuthbert Marshall, archdeacon of Nottingham, was published, probably with Cranmer's approbation, but without authority. (Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, i. 335. ch. xxxi. and Cranmer, i. 138.) It contains many independent tracts, of which Strype gives a list; possibly the Primer might have been allowed, to which Marshall affixed these additions. I have never seen the book. Strype calls it a second edition with divers additions, 4to. A Primer, 1545, to which I allude above, is in the Bodleian. Waterland on the Athanasian Creed, Works, iv. 282. a. speaks of a Primer set forth in 1539 by John bishop of Rochester, (Hilsey) p. 285.

Common Prayer of Edward VI. 1552, and was never again introduced into the service of our church.

§. 742. (March 8, 1548.) The second step in framing a new Service Book referred to that particular in which the church of Rome had introduced the greatest corruptions. When it was ordained by act of parliament that the use of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in both kinds should be restored to the people, a short formulary[a] was drawn up for this purpose, to be used at the end of the Latin mass, in which the priest, having himself partaken during the previous ceremony, was directed subsequently to administer to the rest of the congregation both the bread and wine. The service is from this circumstance much shorter than that which formed a part of the Common Prayer in 1549, but most of the prayers and exhortations are the same; both these contain one direction with regard to confession, which marks the temper in which they were drawn up. The people, when exhorted as at present to come to some minister of God's word and open their grief to him, in case they find their consciences troubled, are urged to use mutual charity towards those whose opinions differ from their own as to private confession; that neither they who open their sins to the priest should be offended at others who are satisfied with their own humble confession to God; nor these latter exhibit less forbearance towards such as seek for further satisfaction from auricular confession.

[a] Printed in Sparrow's Collection, p. 13.

§. 743. (May 4, 1549.) But when the principles of general reformation were more fully acted upon, the whole service was put forth in English[a], and all men were thus enabled to join in the very words used by the minister of the church.

The execution, however, of this work was far from being so complete as its first appearance might induce us to suppose. The original Common Prayer Book is, in all outward appearance, nearly the same as that which we now use, though its pages retain many of the particulars in which we differ from the church of Rome. In the funeral service there are prayers for the dead. The custom of anointing with oil is retained in the office for baptism; and in that for the visitation of the sick, in case the patient requested it. The outward sign of the cross was still retained in several of the services where it is now omitted; so that on the whole this book forms a connecting link between the Missal and the Prayer Book[b].

[a] The persons employed in drawing it up were—

Cranmer, abp. of Canterbury.
Goodrich, bp. of Ely.
Holbech, bp. of Lincoln.
Day, bp. of Chichester.
Skip, bp. of Hereford.
Thirlby, bp. of Westminster.
Ridley, bp. of Rochester.
Cox, dean of Christ Church.
May, dean of St. Paul's.
Taylor, dean of Lincoln.
Hayns, dean of Exeter.
Robinson, archd. of Leicester and dean of Durham.
Redmain, dean of Westm. and master of Trinity, Cambridge.

As to the sources from whence our Prayer Book is drawn, the reader is referred to a most complete treatise on this subject by Palmer, just published at the university press.

[b] The most material differences between the first Liturgy and that now in use were—

1. The morning and evening service began with the Lord's

§. 744. It is impossible not to remark the prudence with which this book was drawn up. Almost the whole of it was taken from different Roman ca-

Prayer; and the prayers for the king, royal family, and clergy, &c. were wanting at the end of it. The Litany was not ordered to be used on Sundays, and contained a petition to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome.

2. Each communion service began with an Introit, or psalm, sung as the officiating ministers were proceeding to the altar, (a custom which is still retained in cathedral churches.) In the praise given for the saints the name of the Virgin was especially mentioned. The sign of the cross was used in the consecration of the elements; and there was a prayer that they might be sanctified with the Spirit and Word of God. The words at the presentation of the elements were only the first clause of those now used; and water was to be mixed with the wine. This service varies much from the one at present in use, and the Decalogue forms no part of it.

3. In the baptismal service a form of exorcism, in order to expel the evil spirit from the child, was still used; the child was anointed, and invested with a white garment, or chrisom, to denote the innocency of the profession into which it was now admitted. The baptismal water was consecrated once a month, and the minister was directed to dip the child thrice.

4. The catechism forms a part of the office for confirmation, and wants the explanation of the sacraments at the end.

5. The office for confirmation consisted merely in the laying on of hands with prayer, without any promise on the part of the person confirmed, with which it now begins. The sign of the cross was still used in it.

6. In matrimony the sign of the cross was still retained, and money was given with the ring to the bride.

7. In the visitation of the sick allusion was made to Tobias and Sarah, from the Apocrypha. A prayer was added in case the sick person desired to be anointed, and he was to be signed with the cross. And it was further directed, that the same form of absolution should be used in all private confessions.

8. In the burial of the dead there were prayers for the per-

tholic services, particularly those after the use of Salisbury, which were then generally adopted in the south of England: and the principle on which the compilers proceeded in the work, was to alter as little as possible what had been familiar to the people[a]. Thus the Litany is nearly the same as that in the Salisbury Hours, excepting that one hundred and sixteen addresses to the apostles, the virgin, and different saints are left out; it only differs from that published by Henry VIII. in the Primer, by three addresses of the same nature, which are there re-

son buried and for the dead generally. A particular service was added for the celebration of the eucharist at funerals.

9. With regard to dresses, priests are ordered to wear the surplice in parish churches, and to add the hood when they officiate in cathedrals or preach. And in the communion, the bishop is directed to wear besides his rochet, a surplice or albe, with a cope or vestment, and to have a pastoral staff borne by himself or his chaplain. The officiating priest to wear a white albe, plain, with a vestment or cope. And the assisting ministers to appear in albes and tunicles.

10. With regard to ceremonies used by the people the following rubric occurs, which has been subsequently omitted. "As "touching kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, knocking "upon the breast, and other gestures, they may be used or left, "as every man's devotion serveth, without blame;" and it may be observed, that the reasons then drawn up "why some cere-"monies were abrogated and others retained," and which were then placed at the end of the Prayer Book, now stand as a preface.

[a] Many parts of the service, which are not derived from the Roman catholic service books, are taken from Herman's Consultation about Reformation. He was archbishop of Cologne, and the work was drawn up by Melancthon and Bucer, and translated into English in 1547. (Laurence, Bampton Lectures, 440.)

tained; and varies from our own in one petition only, "that we may be delivered from the tyranny "of the Pope." The collects, epistles, and gospels are almost entirely the same, and several ceremonies were retained which have been since discarded.

(Nov. 1549.) In the latter part of this year a meeting of divines* (probably the same as had been engaged in compiling the Common Prayer) took place, for the purpose of framing an ordination service, which was published in March of the next year, and, after some trifling alterations[b], adopted into the Prayer Book, upon the review of it which took place in 1552. It corresponds very nearly with that now in use, excepting that some of the portions of scripture which are read are different, and the oath of supremacy has been changed[c]. Its several parts are taken from that in use in the church of

[b] Differences between the ordination service, 1549—1552.

The service began with an Introit. The deacons were to be dressed in albes, and the one who read the gospel was to put on a tunicle. The bread and chalice were given into the priest's hands, together with the Bible. In the consecration of bishops the pastoral staff was used, and committed into his hand before the words, "Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd." The archbishop laid the Bible on the bishop's neck: the other alterations are merely verbal. The original edition was published by Grafton. The copy in the Bodleian library is a reprint.

[c] These changes consist in the alteration of some few words, the omission of a petition for God's grace upon the candidates in the Litany, and the alteration in the rubric concerning the ages at which deacons and priests may be ordained, corresponding with the law of Elizabeth. See §. 435.

* Burnet, ii. 109. fol. 265. 8vo.

Rome, with the omission of certain ceremonious observances, and the insertion of most of the questions proposed to the candidates.

§. 745. (A. D. 1552.) When a few years had enabled the Christian community to examine the new Common Prayer Book, and some persons were hardly satisfied with many of the ceremonies which were still retained in the offices, it was determined to make a general review of the whole under the direction of Cranmer, with the assistance of other divines, the same probably as had originally compiled it. While this was in progress, two learned foreigners, who were then in England, were consulted on the subject, and their opinions seem to have coincided with, or to have influenced[a] the decisions of the English bishops; for most of the points objected to by Bucer* were subsequently amended, and the sentiments of Peter Martyr appear to have been very similar to those of Bucer[b].

This Prayer Book, in fact, differs very little from

[a] Dr. Laurence (Bamp. Lect. p. 247.) seems to doubt whether these foreigners had much influence with regard to the matter.

[b] The alterations from the last, 1549, now made, were as follows:—

1. The sentences, exhortation, confession, and absolution with which the service begins, were now introduced. The idea of them is probably taken from a form of prayer used by the church of Strasburgh, and published in 1551 by Valerandus Pollanus, when this church was established at Glastonbury. The use of the Decalogue, as part of the public service, is probably due to the same source. See Laurence's Bamp. Lect. p. 198; and

* Burnet, ii. 287. 8vo; Strype's Cranmer, i. 299.

the one now in use, excepting that at the end of the morning and evening service the prayers for the king and royal family were wanting, and that the other prayers were then placed at the end of the

Strype's Eccl. Mem. II. i. 378. The Litany was to be used on Sundays.

2. In the communion service the Decalogue was now introduced. The Introit, the name of the Virgin Mary, together with the thanksgiving for the saints, the sign of the cross in consecration, the invocation of the Word and the Holy Ghost which accompanied it, and the admixture of water with wine, were omitted. And the words at the presentation of the elements were only the second clause of those now used. At the same time a declaration concerning the posture of kneeling in receiving the sacrament was subjoined, which differs not materially from that which now stands at the end of the communion service. It is difficult to understand why the invocation of the second and third Persons in the Trinity was left out; it has been wisely restored in the American Prayer Book.

3. In baptism, the form of exorcism, the anointing of the child, the use of the chrisom, and the trine immersion, were omitted; the water was consecrated for the occasion as at present.

5. In confirmation, the sign of the cross was omitted.

6. In matrimony, the sign of the cross and the giving of gold and silver were omitted.

7. In the visitation of the sick, the allusion to Tobias and Sarah, the anointing, and the direction about all private confessions, were omitted.

8. In the burial service, the prayers for the dead and the office for the eucharist at funerals were omitted.

9. The rubric about the dresses was, "And here it is to be "noted, that the minister at the time of the communion, and "at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither albe, "vestment, nor cope; but being archbishop or bishop, he shall "have and wear a rochet; but being a priest or deacon, he shall "have and wear a surplice only."

Litany, and probably not read unless that was used. The occasional prayers too, as well as the thanksgivings, were wanting; those for rain and fair weather occurred at the end of the communion service.

§. 746. (A. D. 1560.) On the reestablishment of protestantism by queen Elizabeth, one of her first cares was to review the Common Prayer Book. The question which was agitated between those whom she nominated to this task[a], was whether the first or second book of Edward VI. should be adopted. Her own inclination would probably have guided her to prefer the former, since it retained many ceremonies of which she was particularly fond; but upon examination the second of Edward VI. was selected, and a few alterations were made in it[b].

[a] The persons employed were, (Strype's Life of sir Thomas Smith, p. 56.)

Bill, master of Trinity, Cambridge, and afterwards dean of Westminster.

Parker, dean of Lincoln, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

May, dean of St. Paul's, and afterwards archbishop of York.

Cox, dean of Ch. Ch. Oxford, and Westminster, and afterwards bishop of Ely.

Pilkington, master of St. John's, Cambridge, and afterwards bishop of Durham.

Grindal, bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

Whitehead, who had been chaplain to Cranmer.

Sir Thomas Smith.

Of these, May and Cox had been employed at the compilation of the work. In the Annals, Strype (Ann. i. 119.) adds Sandys and Guest.

[b] The changes specified in the act of uniformity 1° Elizabethæ

§. 747. (A. D. 1604.) During the reign of James I. in consequence of some discussion at the conference at Hampton court, another review of the Common Prayer was instituted, and a few changes[a] introduced with much judgment: but it must not be forgotten that they possessed no legal authority, inas-

are, "with one alteration or addition of certain lessons, to be "used every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany "altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the "delivery of the sacrament to the communicants, and none "other or otherwise." Of these, the changes in the lessons are not considerable. In the Litany the petition to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome was omitted, and that for the queen altered. And in the communion both the clauses at the presentation of the elements, which had stood in the first and second of Edward, were put together, forming the words now used. The clause in the act of uniformity, 1° Elizabethæ, about dresses is, "Such ornaments of the church, and of the "ministers thereof, shall be retained and be used, as was in this "church of England by authority of parliament in the second "year of the reign of Edward VI, until order shall be therein "taken by the authority of the queen's majesty," by the advice of the ecclesiastical commission, or of the metropolitan of this realm. I am not aware that any such order was ever taken by Elizabeth. And by the act of uniformity, Charles II. 14°, and the rubric, this is now the law of the land. See §. 743. b. 9. The prayers for the king and clergy, which now stand at the end of the morning and evening service, were then first inserted, but placed at the end of the Litany, and the declaration about kneeling, at the end of the communion, was left out.

[a] The rubric in the service for private baptism was so framed, by inserting the term "lawful minister," as to leave no doubt concerning the point that the church did not authorize lay baptism. See §. 424. a. In the church catechism that part was added in which the sacraments are explained, (drawn up by Dr. John Overall,) and certain forms of thanksgiving were now added, to correspond with the prayers for fair weather, &c.

much as they were only sanctioned by the royal proclamation under which they were published.

§. 748. Laud* is generally accused of having made considerable alterations in the Common Prayer, for which he had no sufficient authority; and doubtless there are many words changed in the edition of 1638, as compared with that of 1622. If this had not been brought forward among ten thousand charges equally frivolous as proofs of treason, we might be induced to reprobate such unwarranted proceedings as they deserve; but there is little evidence that Laud was the author of the alterations, and he expressly denies it† in his own version of his defence[a b].

[a] Besides verbal changes which are of no material importance, the word *priest* is in several of the services substituted for *minister*, and this, as at present, without any apparent rule; the word had better be confined to such offices as are peculiar to the priesthood, while that of *minister* extends to all others, excepting when the cure of souls is implied, where *curate* might be used, if such a distinction be necessary.

In the prayer for the royal family the words "Almighty God, "which hast promised to be a father of thine elect, and of their "seed," are changed to "Almighty God, the fountain of all "goodness."

In the service for the fifth of November, "Cut off those "workers of iniquity, whose religion is rebellion," &c. is changed into, "who turn religion into rebellion," &c.; an expression which makes the sentence apply to the puritans as well as to the papists. But it may be observed that the first of these two, the prayer for the royal family, was introduced merely by a proclamation of king James, and might therefore be altered by king Charles; and the service for the fifth of November is not appointed by act of parliament. The day is ordered to be kept holy, but no form is authorized.

* Neal's Puritans, ii. 220. † Troubles and Trial, 357.

§. 749. (A. D. 1661.) Upon the fruitless termination of the Savoy conference, it was determined that

In the epistle for Palm Sunday the word "*in*" the name of Jesus was altered to "at;" a change which, whether right or wrong, is sanctioned by the authorized and Geneva translations.

[b] The Prayer Book so altered, differs but little from that which was prepared for Scotland; but the alterations, trifling as they are, mark the spirit of those who then directed the public affairs of the kingdom, and are therefore well worthy of our notice. In the table of lessons, most of those taken from the Apocrypha are omitted in the Scotch Prayer Book, the names of fifteen Scotch saints are introduced into the Calendar, and the word *presbyter* is every were substituted for that of *priest*. The reading psalms too are taken from the received version of 1611. These changes were probably all of them in accordance with the wishes of the nation, and conciliatory in their intention. In the administration of the Lord's Supper, which is the only service in which any considerable change takes place, there are many small particulars calculated to be very offensive to persons superstitiously hostile to Rome, which was the state of the people of Scotland at that time.

A quiet Christian would perhaps object to but few of these alterations; but it was surely injudicious to bring back a Prayer Book destined for the use of that country, to a greater conformity to the first Liturgy of Edward VI. and the Roman rituals. The bread and wine are to be "offered up," and placed upon the Lord's table. The prayers for the church militant, and of consecration, are nearer to those of 1549; and the words pronounced at the delivery of the elements, are the very same as those in the Prayer Book of that date. These had been altered in the reign of Elizabeth, for fear of any mistake about transubstantiation. In one rubric the word *corporal* for the napkin is retained; in another, the use of wafer bread is permitted; and in the prayer which now immediately follows the Lord's Prayer after receiving, but which in the Scotch Prayer Book is used before, the expression, we "may worthily receive the most precious "body and blood of thy Son," is reintroduced from that of 1549: all which changes, whether objectionable in themselves or no,

the alteration of the Common Prayer should be submitted to the convocation which was then sitting, and a king's letter, giving them authority to proceed to this work, was read in the upper house of convocation on November 21. This convocation * had been previously employed in framing new services for the twenty-ninth of May and the thirtieth of January, and had prepared a form of baptism for those of riper years, the necessity of which had been created by the neglect into which that sacrament had frequently fallen during the usurpation; but when the inutility of the conference had become apparent, several of the bishops had probably so prepared things, during the vacation, that the work went rapidly on when it was brought forward in the autumn. Within two days after the king's letter was read, a portion of the revised Prayer Book was transmitted to the lower house, and the whole put into their hands on November 27. The several offices were subsequently examined, and a form of prayer to be used at sea introduced, but the whole was finished and subscribed on December 20[a].

mark a decided want of attention to the feelings of that country at the time. It may be here worthy of remark, that a custom, prevalent in many parishes in England, of saying, "Glory be to "thee, O God," immediately before or after the reading the gospel for the day, is directed in the Scotch Prayer Book, and was perhaps then introduced, from being in common use in this country.

[a] The convocation of York took little interest in these proceedings. At the request of archbishop Frewen they gave a hasty

* Synodus Ang. App. 83.

There were, it appears, some small alterations made in the Prayer Book in parliament, (1662,) while the act of uniformity was passing, which were referred by both houses, March 5, to a committee of three bishops, (August 24,) and when this act came in force, the Common Prayer Book, as it now stands, became part of the law of the land, and has been uniformly used in the church of England ever since.

In speaking of a work of this sort, the excellency of which is acknowledged by all parties, it must be superfluous to enter into any commendations, however well deserved. If there be persons who may doubt of the propriety of the expression with which it was originally ushered into the world, as being "set forth by the aid of the Holy Ghost*;" yet all members of our church must thank God, that among the many other national blessings bestowed upon us, we possess a Liturgy probably the most pure and apostolical which exists. The only question which admits of any doubt is, whether some reasonable objections to it may not still be obviated; whether some verbal alterations may not be made with advantage, and a further amalgamation take place in the three services which are now generally used together in the morning, by which an unnecessary

assent to what was done by means of their proxies. (Wake's State of the Church, App. No. 158.)

* Act of Uniformity, Edward VI. 2° 3° ch. i.

repetition of the same or similar petitions might be avoided [b]. See, too, sect. 806.

[b] The most important alterations which now took place are:

1. The new or authorized version of the Bible was adopted in it, except in the psalms.

2. The morning prayer was printed separate from the evening, such prayers as are common to both being reprinted, and the five last prayers in each were introduced from the end of the Litany.

3. The occasional prayers, which stood connected with the Litany, were now divided from it. The prayers in the Ember weeks were inserted, (the latter of them from the Scotch Liturgy,) as well as that for the parliament and for all conditions of men: at the same time the general Thanksgiving and that for restoring public peace at home were added.

4. Some few new collects were inserted, some changed, and verbal alterations introduced into many. *Church* is generally substituted for *congregation*.

5. In the communion service the exhortations are a good deal changed, and directed to be read on some previous Sunday or holiday, and communicants are directed to give notice of their intention the day before. The reading the Confession is now confined to the minister only, and the admonition about transubstantiation is again introduced, with some alterations from that of 1552.

6. The service for the baptism of those of riper years, and the form of prayer to be used at sea, were also introduced; and,

7. The five last prayers in the visitation of the sick.

If it be asked which of these changes were in compliance with the wishes of the nonconformists, it may be observed that the whole of the first and fifth were in conformity with their desires, that the introduction of the general Thanksgiving and many verbal alterations were suggested by them.

8. That the consent of the curate is now required for confirmation, though the bishop may, if he see fit, confirm without it; and this rite is not made a *sine qua non* for receiving the Lord's Supper.

§. 750. Although the service generally used at the consecration of churches is possessed of no actual authority, yet as there exists a form sanctioned by custom, it can hardly be passed over without some brief notice. Churches have been dedicated to the service of God from the earliest periods, and since the time of Constantine (335) some form of consecration has been used for this purpose. The custom prevailed among our Saxon forefathers, and was continued by the church of Rome to the reformation. At that period of our history, unfortunately more churches were destroyed than built: bishop Andrews *, who died in 1626, had drawn up a form

9. The Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick is left to the judgment of the curate by the insertion of the clause, (if he humbly and heartily desire it.)

10. In the churching of women the service may now be performed from the desk, and the psalms are changed. The newly married couple are not now required to receive the Lord's Supper. The font is now to be placed conveniently by the direction of the ordinary, and the words, in the latter part of the Catechism, "Yes, they do perform them by their sureties who "promise and vow them both in their names," &c. are changed to, "Because they promise them both by their sureties," &c.

Of these, 5, 8, 9, increased the discretionary power of the curate with regard to admonition, but afforded him not any judicial authority; and herein probably the real interests of Christianity were consulted.

It may be worthy of remark that there have been four acts of uniformity. 1548. 2° and 3° Edw. VI. c. i. } These two were
1552. 5° and 6° ..... }
repealed in 1559. 1° Elizabethæ, which was not repealed in 1662. 14° Caroli II. These two last are often printed in the beginning of the Prayer Book.

* Heylin's Laud, p. 213.

in English, taken chiefly, I believe, from the office of the church of Rome, and this form was approved and followed, (though possibly not without some alterations,) by Laud, and most other bishops. (1630.) It had been the intention of the archbishop * to have prepared a service for this purpose, in the convocation of 1640, but the circumstances which attended that assembly had prevented the accomplishment of this object. The subject † was again taken under consideration in the convocation of 1661, and the preparation of a form committed to the care of bishop Cousins; and when presented to the house, it was referred to a committee of four bishops, for revision; but nothing seems ultimately to have been done about it. In 1684, bishop Sparrow published that of bishop Andrews. In the year 1712, a form ‡ of consecrating churches, chapels, and churchyards, or places of burial, was sent down from the bishops to the lower house of convocation, on the 2nd day of April, and was altered by the committee of the whole house; which form, as it did not receive the royal assent, was not enjoined to be observed, but is now generally used. It is printed in Burns; but every bishop is at liberty to adopt a form according to his own judgment, and bishops do frequently make slight alterations, but the service is virtually that of bishop Andrews.

There are at the end of the Prayer Book four services, which, properly speaking, form no part of

* Heylin's Laud, 441. † Synodus Anglicana, p. 107.
‡ Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, i. 300.

the book itself. They consist of forms of prayer for,

1. The 5th of November, the Gunpowder Treason [a].

2. The 30th of January, the Martyrdom of Charles I [b].

3. The 29th of May, the Restoration [c].

4. The King's Accession [d].

The three first of these days are by acts of parliament * ordered to be kept holy, but no service is specified as being appointed for them. The authority by which they are here introduced is merely an order from the king in council, repeated at the beginning of every reign.

[a] Some expressions in this service were altered by Laud, and gave great and unreasonable offence. At the accession of William and Mary it was altered so as to apply to the revolution, as a second escape from popery. (Heylin's Laud, 418. §. 748. a.)

[b] This was drawn up by Sancroft, and approved by the convocation, 1661, through a committee of four bishops and eight members of the lower house: it has received hardly any alterations since that time. (Doyley's Life, i. 44. Syn. Ang. 67.)

[c] This was approved by the committee of convocation, 1661, and was originally adapted to commemorate the birth of Charles II. as well as the restoration: at his death it was altered, and some further substitutions took place at the same time, in which mention is made of the rebellion, and those concerned in it, in stronger terms than before. (Doyley's Sancroft, i. 116.)

[d] The day of their inauguration has been generally observed by our sovereigns since the reformation, upon the same authority as any other day of thanksgiving or fasting. The present service differs but little from that of queen Anne, which was framed from that of James II.

* 3° Jac. I. 12° Car. II. 14. 30.

# CHAPTER XVII.

## DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES II, 1685—1688.

751, 752. Opinions of James II. 753. Accession of James; addresses. 754. Revenue policy. 755. Cruelty of James. 756. He alarms his subjects; letter about preaching. 757. Court of ecclesiastical commission. 758. Declaration for liberty of conscience. 759. Dispensing power. 760. Sufferings of the dissenters. 761. Attacks on the universities; Magdalen college. 762. Cambridge; Charter-house. 763. Folly of James. 764. Remonstrances of the court of Rome. 765. He tries to frame a parliament favourable to his plans. 766. Army; Johnson. 767. Declaration for liberty of conscience. 768. Difficulties of the clergy; the seven bishops. 769. Sent to the Tower. 770. Tried and acquitted. 771. Temper of the king and of the dissenters; Sancroft's attempts at a comprehension. 772. Progress of the revolution; James alone ignorant of the preparations of the prince of Orange. 773. He retraces his steps by the advice of the bishops. 774. The bishops refuse to sign a protest against the prince of Orange. 775. James finds that his army will not support him, and flies into France. 776. Character of James; his talents and false notions of government. 777. His desire to introduce popery, chiefly political. 778. He never submitted his own opinion to that of Rome; dishonest, imprudent. 779. Birth of the prince. 780. Nature of the revolution. 781. Conduct of the clergy.

§. 751. (A. D. 1685.) THE difficulty of drawing a strict line between civil and ecclesiastical history, which has been so frequently stated, will appear perhaps more strongly in this reign than in any other. The contest which was decided in 1688 is often regarded as one of merely a religious charac-

ter; but if it were viewed without those strong prejudices which are occasionally mixed up with it, it would probably be denominated a political struggle with which the interests of religion were closely connected, as they are indeed with most political questions. James had been early led to regard rebellion as the worst of crimes, and his education, carried on in a French camp, had disposed him to conceive that obedience was the only virtue; a circumstance which never allowed him to gain any just ideas of the civil rights of his subjects. Obedient in the extreme to the commands of the king his brother, he expected the same deference to his own wishes when the death of Charles had placed him on the throne. He had been brought up with a high, perhaps a blind veneration for the church of England, and when he came to examine the question for himself, he could see no reason why the same sort of veneration should not lead him to the church of Rome. His conversion to that communion does not appear to have depended on any examination of the tenets of the two churches, but on his discovering* "that neither the church of Eng-" land, nor Calvin, nor any of the reformers, had " power to do what they did:" it was not whether the church of Rome were wrong in her opinions or doctrines, but whether those who seceded from it had any authority to do so.

§. 752. The political tendencies of popery and protestantism very probably influenced him in his choice:

* Life of James II. i. 630.

" he loved * and aimed at absolute power, and be-
" lieved that nothing could introduce and support
" it but the catholic religion, as the Romanists call
" theirs; and this increased his zeal for it, and that
" zeal increased his disposition to arbitrary power:
" so that in truth his religion and his politics were
" partly the cause of each other, and indeed they
" cannot easily be separated. The protestant faith is
" founded upon inquiry and knowledge, the popish,
" upon submission and ignorance. And nothing leads
" more to slavery in the state, than blind obedience
" in matters of religion; as nothing tends more to
" civil liberty, than that spirit of free inquiry which
" is the life of protestantism." Sentiments which fully bear out these general observations are frequently expressed by James. In speaking of the bill of exclusion †, in 1680, he says, " he was astonished
" that men of sense did not see that religion was
" only the pretence, and that the real contest was
" about power and dominion: that it was the mo-
" narchy they designed to banish; without which,
" the other banishments would give them little sa-
" tisfaction."

§. 753. This attempt which had been made to exclude him from the throne, had not only confirmed him in all these opinions, but had made him the enemy of the protestant cause; while the pertinacity with which the Roman catholics supported his arbitrary measures, was as much due to the severity of

* Note of speaker Onslow's, in Burnet's Own Time, iii. 2. a.
† Life of James II. i. 594.

the penal laws, and the intolerance of protestants, as to the principles entertained by the members of that communion. Protestants first drove out the Roman catholics from the pale of civil liberty, and then wondered that they were ready to support arbitrary power, which could alone relieve them. While the bill of exclusion was in agitation, a very powerful party appeared adverse to the succession of James; but the latter years of Charles II, wherein the duke had entirely governed the country, had so altered the outward expression of opinion, that the alarms of the kingdom were displayed in the looks of the people, while their acclamations welcomed the new monarch. In his first speech, "he expressed * his "good opinion of the church of England, as a friend "to monarchy. Therefore he said he would defend "and maintain the church, and would preserve the "government in church and state, as it was esta-"blished by law." These words were much repeated, and the common phrase was, "We have now the "word of a king, and a word never yet broken." Some of the addresses, however, which were presented at this period, contained expressions [a] which ought not to have been misunderstood; while others renewed their assurances of fidelity and obedience in such terms as, gratifying the wishes of the king, tended to delude him, and to influence the forma-

[a] The London clergy for instance talked "of their religion "established by law, which was dearer to them than their "lives." Burnet, iii. 7.

* Burnet's Own Time, iii. 6.

tion of his plans; for he expected that the high church party would comply with his desires, and allow him to proceed on his arbitrary principles.

§. 754. James began his reign by levying those duties on tonnage and poundage, which had ceased to be due upon the death of his predecessor: so great an inconvenience would have arisen from the interruption of this payment, that the measure was in itself unobjectionable; but the manner in which it was done, by proclamation, without any appearance of deference to law, afforded no very favourable prognostic of his future conduct. The parliament, however, as soon as it met, settled this upon him, and with it a larger revenue for life, than had ever been possessed by any previous monarch, amounting to two millions per annum: at the same time an attempt was made, that the grant might be accompanied by a petition for putting the penal laws in force against dissenters, as had been the case during the late reign; but this was resisted in the commons. The early policy of the king was founded upon the hope that he might balance the high church party against the dissenters, and ultimately bring them to his own persuasion. This, however, was a method of proceeding, from which nothing but the blindness of James could have expected success; and perhaps the victory which he obtained over the duke of Monmouth in the west, and the earl of Argyle in Scotland, contributed to blind him, while it opened the eyes of his subjects; for the cruelties then exercised exceed belief. To say nothing of those who

suffered[a] for their rebellion, and who had no right to expect mercy, there are among others two instances of old ladies who were executed for concealing fugitives. They both denied any knowledge of the guilt of those whom they protected; but whether this were true or no, lady Lisle was beheaded, and Mrs. Gaunt burnt, for doing that which many a friend of the best government might readily commit; and which the feelings of the majority of the kingdom would certainly pardon. It may be sometimes necessary to punish such an act, but no power on earth can prevent mankind from secretly applauding the action; and every government is unwise which uses severity contrary to the better feelings of mankind.

§. 755. James is occasionally exculpated by throwing the blame on Jeffreys, yet James rewarded Jeffreys by immediately making him chancellor; and he who could see his own nephew, when he had determined to execute him; who could allow the duke of Monmouth to come into his presence, and yet behead him; can little expect that he shall be freed from the charge of cruelty by transferring it on his ministers. The vindictive spirit with which severity was carried on, and the insecurity which every one must have felt, from the manifest injustice of several legal proceedings, particularly that against Cornish[a], could not fail to alienate the minds of the

[a] Three hundred and thirty were executed and 855 transported. Hallam, ii. 412.

[a] Oates was probably justly convicted of perjury, but the sen-

generality of his subjects, till the rapid strides made towards the introduction of popery roused the friends of freedom and religion. Indeed James never concealed his preference for his own church, or left any room to hope that he would govern constitutionally whenever he had obtained the means of doing otherwise. He went to mass publicly on the first Sunday after his accession: in his address to his parliament in Scotland, he declared his determination to uphold the royal power in its greatest lustre; and in his speech to the two houses after the defeat of Monmouth, professed his intention of keeping up a standing army, and retaining certain of his officers *, though disqualified on account of their not having taken the test. Now though an honest man will not disguise his religious opinions, though an honest king will try to uphold the just rights of the crown, yet it is difficult not to be somewhat sceptical about the religious zeal of an individual, who at the age of fifty could not be prevailed on by the entreaties of his wife, or his confessors, to resign his mistress[b];

tence that he should be whipped publicly twice, that he should be imprisoned during the rest of his life, and stand in the pillory four times during each year, was excessively cruel. Dangerfield's sentence was most unjust. His narrative of the Meal-tub plot, whether true or false, was ordered to be printed by the house of commons, and to fine Williams the speaker for licensing the book was unjustifiable. Mr. Cornish suffered for the Rye-house plot on very inadequate evidence. See Kennet, iii. 442.

[b] "When I urged him how such a course of life did agree "with the zeal he shewed in his religion; he answered, Must a

* Kennet, iii. 439.

and who, after a most solemn promise frequently repeated, of maintaining the government as established by law, seemed so far from having a wish to keep it, that he turned out four of his judges* because they would not profess their readiness to comply with the desires of the court.

§. 756. James had been at first disposed to conduct himself on friendly terms with the church of England; but he soon discovered that the steps which he adopted alarmed the members of that communion, whose ministers became forward in asserting the doctrines of the reformation, and warning their hearers against the dangers of popery. In order then to check these proceedings, and to intimidate those who were carrying them on, the king sent a letter to the bishops, prohibiting the clergy from preaching on controversial subjects†, and threatening, in case of any opposition to his wishes, that he would exact the tenths and first-fruits to their full value[a]. This let-

" man be of no religion, unless he is a saint?" Burnet's Own Time, ii. 28.

[a] There may be a question as to the right possessed by the crown to do this; the words of the Act are, " And be it ordain-
" ed and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said yearly
" rent and pension shall be taxed, rated, levied, proceyved, and
" paid to the king's use, his heirs and successors, in manner and
" form hereafter to be declared by this act; that is to say,
" That the chancellor of England for the time being, shall have
" power and authority to direct unto every diocese in this
" realm and in Wales, several commissions in the king's name
" under his great seal, as well to the archbishop or bishop of
" every such diocese, as to every such other parson or parsons, as

* Kennet, iii. 451. † Echard, ii. 1077.

ter, while it reminded every one of a similar step taken in the beginning of the reign of Mary, called forth the energies of those who were most able to advocate the cause, and roused them to stand forward in defence of the doctrines of the church[b]. It became therefore obvious that, unless the king could depress the church, there was no hope of his being able to succeed in the establishment of his own religious tenets, or of arbitrary power, and he commenced his operations by setting up a court well calculated to execute his plans. In April, 1686, he issued a commission for ecclesiastical affairs, a step totally illegal. The act passed in 1641, for the purpose of destroying the court of high-commission, did in fact take away the whole coercive power exercised by the ecclesiastical courts: when therefore, after the restoration, some papists and dissenters denied the authority of the bishops over them, a new act* was passed, repealing such part of the act of

" the king's highness shall name and appoint, commanding and " authorizing the said commissioners, so to be named in every " such commission, or iii. of them at the least, to examine, " search, or inquire, by all the ways and means that they can " by their discretions," &c. &c. Where the words seem to carry the right, though it might be doubted whether this were the intention of the bill. This law was abrogated by Philip and Mary, but reestablished by Elizabeth.

[b] Among the persons who managed and directed this controversial warfare were Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tennison, Patric, Sherlock, Aldrich, Atterbury, Wake, Henry Wharton, Prideaux, Bull, and Sharp. See Burnet's Own Time, iii. 99. Doyley's Sancroft, i. 220. Gibson published 3 vols. fol. of these pieces.

* 13° Car. II. ch. 12.

Charles I. as pertained to bishops' courts, but still disannulling the right of appointing an ecclesiastical commission, and abrogating the canons of 1640.

§. 757. The commission now issued is printed in Kennet *; it confers very ample powers for visiting and reforming all ecclesiastical abuses, for which purpose the presence of the lord chancellor (Jeffreys) and of two other commissioners was required. It directs them also to inspect and correct the statutes of any schools or colleges in either of the universities, and, if necessary, to make new rules for their government; but this could not be done, unless four commissioners were joined to the chancellor. Such a court, against which no exemptions might be pleaded, laid every species of academical or ecclesiastical property at the mercy of the crown. The commissioners were, Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, Crew, bishop of Durham, Sprat, of Rochester, lord Rochester, lord Sunderland, and sir Edward Herbert. Of these, Sancroft refused to take any part in their proceedings, and Cartwright †, a creature of the court, was substituted in his place. The first act of this illegal tribunal was directed against Compton, bishop of London, a man well suited for the struggle, of a noble family and undoubted loyalty, who proved himself ready to defend the rights of his sovereign or of his fellow subjects by the sword, carnal [a] as well as spiritual. Sharp, after-

[a] When he had conveyed the princess Anne from London to Northampton, he put himself at the head of a small army which

* iii. 454. † Burnet, iii. 136.

wards archbishop of York, then rector of St. Giles, had attacked some of the errors of popery, and James, who esteemed this conduct as a personal insult towards himself, directed Compton to suspend him. The bishop expressed his readiness to comply with any lawful command, but declared that he had no authority to do so, except by a legal process in an ecclesiastical court; and in the mean season persuaded Sharp to make all due submission to the king, and to avoid preaching, till the affair were settled. But as this would not satisfy his majesty, Compton was brought (Sept. 6) before the court of ecclesiastical commission, and suspended from executing his office as a bishop.

§. 758. These measures were grounded upon the idea that the king, as supreme head of the church, might both make ecclesiastical law as well as execute it; and the next step in which James was engaged, assumed almost the same power with regard to the law of the land: for when he found that his expectations from the high church party were disappointed, he betook himself to the dissenters, and tried, by favouring them, to establish a force which should be sufficient to curb those whom he now deemed his enemies. On April 4, 1687, he issued a declaration* for liberty of conscience, whereby he suspended all the penal laws against those who differed from the church of England, and vir-

was there assembled. (See Burnet's Own Time, iii. 318. and Wood's Ath.)

* Kennet, iii. 463.

tually repealed them. At the same time he allowed all those who were unwilling to conform to the rites of the church, to assemble for purposes of public worship, dispensed with the necessity of taking any oaths before entering on office, and stated his determination to employ such persons as had been faithful in their duty, and of whose services he did not choose to be deprived. The law of the land, as it stands at the present moment, differs so little from what James wished to establish, that on the part of those who rejoice in our present liberty of conscience, no objection can be justly raised against this measure, except that which arises from the nature of the authority assumed in the publication of such a document. Laws are annihilated, if the king by one sweeping clause may dispense with them. The power of pardoning, mercifully lodged in the crown, is totally different from that which was now claimed. There the king forgives, because some circumstances render pardon the truest justice, and happy is the government which is strong enough frequently to exercise this power; but to forgive an act when committed, and to license the commission of it, are steps of a totally different nature. James never pretended to exercise this power so as to affect the property of his subjects, but when the power is admitted, who can set limits to the use of it? Who can guarantee that no private property shall be injured by it? In the case of Magdalen college, of which mention will hereafter be made, James *

* Own Life, ii. 123.

argues justly, that "it was ridiculous to dispute the "king's power in dispensing with the local statutes "of a college, which had been so frequently prac- "tised in former reigns; after it had been decided "in his majesty's favour that he might dispense "with certain standing laws of the land." The admission of this right in the crown would, in this case, have deprived an honest man of his prospects in life, and might have rendered the situation of all the members of a large college very uncomfortable, by robbing them of their right to appoint their own head, a privilege as dear as any other species of property: nor should it be forgotten, that when an individual is wrongly appointed to any place of honour or emolument, some proper person is prevented from obtaining the preferment.

§. 759. Kennet* says, that the assumption of this power might have been overlooked, if the king had not endeavoured to form a parliament for the purpose of repealing the penal laws[a]. The attempt was made in a very unconstitutional manner through private communications, generally denominated closetings; and many undue steps were taken to influence men in their decisions. Though the legal repeal of all penal laws would probably have been a measure productive of the greatest good to England, had it been effected from the very first, yet unfortunately we can hardly attribute any such en-

[a] That is, such laws as impose any pains or penalties on account of religion.

* iii. 466.

larged views to James, whose sole object seems to have been, to establish his own authority and to introduce his own religious opinions, two ideas almost inseparably connected in his mind. In this attempt to bias the judgments of his people, there was nothing which a weak man might not have esteemed justifiable; but when we look at his conduct with respect to the judges, it is impossible to acquit him of absolute dishonesty. The question of the legality of the dispensing power was brought to trial in the case of sir Edward Hales; but, as a previous step, the judges were sounded concerning their several opinions, "and such as were not clear to judge as "the court did direct, were turned out*." Sir Edward accepted a place which required him to take the test, and his own coachman sued him in the penalty of five hundred pounds for not doing so; in bar of which, the dispensing power of the king was pleaded and allowed. The twelve judges on this occasion decided the matter, as far as a court which had not the confidence of the country could decide it, and there were so many persons indirectly interested in the admission of the power, that it is almost wonderful that the decision was not received with greater satisfaction.

§. 760. The sufferings of the dissenters had been so great, that no government, worthy of the name, could have long allowed them to be inflicted. The quakers †, in their petition to the king and parliament, declare that above fifteen hundred of their

* Burnet, iii. 91. † Neal, v. 17.

brethren had been of late in prison, of whom 1383 now remain there; and that of these more than two hundred were women. That since 1660 above three hundred and fifty had died in gaol; that many others had lost their lives from ill treatment which they had experienced while under confinement: and that numberless injuries had been done to their property. The writer of the preface to Delaune's Plea for the Nonconformists says, that he was one of eight thousand protestant dissenters who had been punished in gaol during the reign of Charles II. Oldmixon* says that Jeremy White had collected a list of sixty thousand persons who had suffered for religion between the restoration and revolution. These accounts may be, and probably are, much exaggerated: but after treatment which at all approached to this description or extent, it is only wonderful that the dissenters were as friendly to the church as they were. The court† had tried to render the breach between the two parties as wide as possible, by issuing a commission to examine into the proceedings which had been unjustly carried on against them; (for in many cases they had bought off further prosecutions against themselves, by making presents to those who were connected with the ecclesiastical courts:) but the general moderation of the dissenters at this moment prevented any such effect from being produced, since they were convinced that the sole object of the apparent kindness of the king was to employ them in throwing down the

* History of the Stuarts, 715. † Burnet, iii. 175.

constitution. His arbitrary conduct indeed, which was always exercised more or less in favour of the Roman catholics, prevented any one from mistaking the plans which he had in view.

§. 761. James directed his first open attack against the universities: for he foresaw, that if he could have succeeded in contaminating the sources from whence many of the higher feelings which pervade a country derive their origin, the task of perverting the minds of the rest of the community would have become comparatively easy. Oxford was but ill prepared to resist the attempt. Anthony Wood *, in his own life, describes the place as given up to idleness, and containing few scholars, who generally spent their time in coffee and ale-houses. He adds, that colleges † were deserted for fear the gownsmen ‡ should be turned out of their rooms to provide lodgings for the members, in case a parliament should be assembled there. That whigs were afraid to send their sons to a seminary, when there was danger lest they should be perverted to tory principles or converted to popery. For after the accession of James, Obadiah Walker, head of University college, and five or six more, declared themselves of the Roman catholic persuasion. Upon the death of Fell, in 1686, the crown had appointed Massey[a], a

[a] There was a particular dispensation for O. Walker, Massey, and several other members of the university; and one for Sclater, curate of Putney and rector of Esher, for not using the Common Prayer. (Hallam's Cons. Hist. ii. 410.)

* Ath. lxxix. † Ibid. lxxx. ‡ Ibid. xciv. xcvii.

Roman catholic, to the deanery of Christ Church; and in 1687, when a vacancy occurred in the headship of Magdalen college, the king sent a mandatory letter, enjoining the fellows to elect Farmer, a man of bad character, and a Roman catholic. The fellows petitioned that the crown would either grant them a free election, or that the king would recommend such a person as might be serviceable to his majesty and to his college: but in the mean time, before any answer was received, they, complying with the directions of their statutes as to the time of election, proceeded to choose Hough, and afterwards refused to admit Samuel Parker, bishop of Oxford, who was recommended to them by the court. In consequence of this disobedience his majesty cited the fellows before him during his visit to Oxford: and upon their continued refusal to obey his commands, they were brought before a committee of the ecclesiastical commission, sent to the university for the purpose of punishing them, and ultimately Hough and twenty-five fellows quitted their academical preferments, protesting against the illegality of the whole proceeding. Parker enjoyed his preferment only two years, and at his death Bonaventure Giffard, vicar apostolic from the see of Rome, was installed as president.

§. 762. We have before seen* in what light James regarded the transaction: he conceived that the king who had a right to dispense with the laws of the land, must have an equal power to change the sta-

* Sect. 758.

tutes of a college; and there are many instances where, in the appointments to colleges, the nomination had been virtually transferred to the crown[a]. James, therefore, who entertained the most extravagant notions of prerogative, and who was urged on by the blind zeal of his ecclesiastical advisers, (for the Roman catholic laity were too wise to approve of his conduct,) saw not that the freehold of every one of his subjects was rendered insecure by so arbitrary an act, and that every member of the college thus ejected would be regarded as a confessor for the cause of protestantism; while every friend to the universities or the church would be in arms against a measure which might in the next place eject any clergyman from his living.

This shameless treatment however was not confined to Oxford. In Cambridge* James had before directed the university to confer the degree of M. A. without taking the oaths, on Allan Francis, a Benedictine monk, then resident there. The convocation

[a] When Sancroft vacated his headship at Emanuel college, Cambridge, the king nominated Dr. Breton, who was accordingly elected; and one of the fellows approved of it as the only method of preserving unanimity among them. (Doyley's Sancroft, i. 135.†) Finch was appointed warden of All Souls by mandamus from James, 1687, and upon the death of the duke of Ormond, in July 1688, the university proceeded to a hasty election, lest a mandamus should come in favour of Jeffreys. (Birch's Tillotson, 222. 234.) William III. attempted to do the same in King's college, Cambridge, but gave it up on the resistance of the fellows. (Ibid. 261.)

* Burnet, iii. 141.

rejected the mandamus as quietly as they could, but Dr. Peachell [b], master of Magdalen college, and vice-chancellor, was ultimately deprived of this office by the ecclesiastical commission. The court however went no further, and the degree was never conferred. An almost similar case took place at the Charter-house*, when the king ordered the governors to admit Andrew Popham without administering any oaths to him. The governors very properly resisted, and the affair was never brought to an issue. Two out of these three acts were direct attacks upon property; for where a candidate disqualified by law is appointed, it cannot but happen that some qualified person is deprived of his right. The third was an act of pure tyranny upon the magistrate of a body corporate, who did nothing beyond his duty.

§. 763. Some other parts of the conduct of James are marked with a folly as conspicuous as the injus-

[b] He is called Rachell by lord Dartmouth in his note on Burnet. There is an excellent letter of his to Pepys, in the Diary, ii. 81.—"I am sorry, as well as unhappy, to be brought to a "straight twixt God and man: the laws of the land and the "oaths we lie under, are the fences of God's church and reli-"gion professed and established amongst us; and I cannot suf-"fer myself to be made an instrument to pull down those "fences: if H. M. in his wisdom, and according to his supreme "power, contrive other methods to satisfy himself, I shall be "no murmurer or complainer, but can be no abettor. For the "doctrine, discipline, and worship of our church I heartily "believe was neither fetched from Rome nor from Geneva, "but from Jerusalem, from Christ and his apostles."

* Doyley's Sancroft, i. 239.

tice is, which is exhibited in the previous instances, particularly the appointment of Father Petre as a privy counsellor, and the sending lord Castlemain to Rome. The writer of the life of James II. throws the blame in both these cases on lord Sunderland, who brought forward the king's confessor, that he might use him as a tool and a screen. Petre was a weak, though plausible man, but had a great influence over the king, and the credit of more than he really possessed: lord Sunderland therefore wished that Petre might be supposed to direct the king's counsels, while the measures really proceeded from the minister; and the prospect of obtaining a cardinal's hat was too strong a temptation to be resisted by Petre. Lord Castlemain was in consequence sent ambassador to Rome* in order to obtain this object, and to request that three vicars-general more might be appointed for the kingdom; but his reception there was most unfavourable; and after delays and neglect, the only point in which he succeeded was the nomination of Drs. Giffard and Smith and Father Ellice, who were consecrated bishops *in partibus*, and vicars-general in England [a].

[a] Watson, bishop of Lincoln, the last of the Roman catholic bishops who had not become protestant at the reformation, died in 1584. In 1598 the English Roman catholic church was placed under the jurisdiction of an archpriest, vested with full authority over the secular clergy, but unable to perform any episcopal functions, as he was not a bishop. The Roman catholics of England justly remonstrated against this, as being vir-

* Life of James II. ii. 79.

§. 764. The court of Rome was far too wise to approve of the hasty steps which were taking place in this country, and foresaw the destruction which such imprudence must bring upon the interests of the papal cause. Innocent XI.* indeed is said to have advised James to use all moderation, and to have written to him for that purpose immediately on his accession; (probably through Carryl, who was sent into Italy upon his ascending the throne.) The Spanish ambassador and the English Roman catholic laity joined in urging the same point, but to no purpose; and it is difficult to decide whether the madness of the priests, or the impolicy and dishonesty of lord Sunderland, were the most influential cause which led to the ultimate catastrophe: probably each contributed to assist the other. It was not perhaps in itself likely that James should have been influenced by the suggestions of the pope, for, like Lewis XIV, he was rather an enemy to the

tually deprived of the benefits of episcopacy. In 1623 a vicar apostolic was first appointed. This is an officer vested with episcopal authority by the pope over any church which is in want of a bishop, but which, for some reason, cannot have one of its own: the bishop is consecrated to some see, *in partibus infidelium*, which had formerly a bishop but has now no church. The real difference between a bishop of a see and a vicar apostolic is, that the commission of the latter is only during the pope's pleasure. Ireland has Roman catholic bishops of her own, who are independent of Rome as far as Roman catholics can be; and the members of that communion in England have much reason to complain that they have never been allowed this privilege. (Butler's Roman Catholics, ii. 249, &c.)

* Welwood's Mem. 157.

principles of protestantism than a friend to the court of Rome, of which he had no wish to increase the power; but no outward rupture took place in consequence of these events; and though lord Castlemain* afterwards declared that the object of his embassy was one of mere compliment between two temporal princes, yet the accounts given by historians, and appearances in England, seem to support a contrary supposition. (July 3, 1687.) The next year the pope's nuncio was publicly received at Windsor, and the duke of Somerset† disgraced, because he refused to incur the danger of rendering himself guilty of high treason, in the eye of the law, by presenting the accredited agent of the see of Rome. The king had not only allowed the monks in St. James's to wear the dresses of their orders, but the nuncio‡ himself, Sen. F. D'Adda, had been consecrated archbishop of Amasia, in the chapel belonging to that palace.

§. 765. All this served but to irritate the minds of the people. It convinced every thinking person that they could expect no half measures, and enabled those who approved not of these proceedings to enlist the prejudices of every protestant in opposition to his majesty. It shewed the world that James cared nothing for laws, and proved to them that their only safety depended on their establishing a power in the force of general opinion, which should be able to overwhelm any strength with which the injustice of the king might be backed.

* Welwood, 184. † Ibid. 182. ‡ Life of James II. ii. 116.

James himself could not fail to perceive the danger of acting entirely against law, and therefore attempted to obtain a sanction for his own conduct by procuring a change in the laws themselves. With this view, when he had dismissed his former parliament*, (July, 1687.) he endeavoured to assemble a new one, which might coincide with his own wishes in the abolition of the Test. The method by which he tried to effect this object was, first, by going on a progress through many parts of the country, during which he sounded the opinions of the most influential persons, hoping to bias their judgments, but found that the feelings of most men were unequivocally adverse to his desires. He discoursed of liberty† of conscience, but forgot that all his acts tended to destroy even liberty of person and property. In order that such members as were friendly to the court might obtain seats in the commons, he used the most arbitrary measures towards corporations, particularly that of London: and while, in his alteration of plans, he discarded his old friends, he gained no new supporters among those who were advanced by him: for no one could feel sure that a fresh line of policy might not presently be pursued, which would again make a sacrifice of their interests. With regard to members of parliament, he attempted to produce the same effect by means of the lords lieutenant, whom he directed to put questions with respect to elections, both to candidates and to electors: but the task was carried on with no zeal,

* Rapin, 760. † Burnet, iii. 180.

and some of the lords lieutenant even opposed the wishes of the court, without concealing it.

§. 766. Such decided marks of dislike on the part of his subjects would not allow James to shut his eyes to the uncertainty of his prospects of success, dependent on any or all these means, and he seems therefore to have placed his reliance upon the army, which he had formed with much care, and modelled as far as possible, so as to give him every reason for expecting support from it: but after all, the feelings of the army were strongly against the religion of the king, and his plans tended only to make the real objects of his intentions more apparent. In 1686 Mr. Johnson*, a clergyman who was already in prison for having written a work called "Julian the Apostate," published "An Address to all the English "Protestants in the army, to dissuade them from "becoming the tools of the Court, and contributing "to subvert the Constitution." For this he was most severely, nay barbarously punished; he was degraded from his orders in St. Paul's by some of the courtly bishops, placed three times in the pillory, and whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. This rigour betrayed the weakness of the court and their alarms, and though numbers of Roman catholics were subsequently introduced into the army, yet that body still continued true to the real interests of the country.

§. 767. (A. D. 1688.) When James then had offended the mass of his subjects; when he had outrun

* Birch's Tillotson, 217. Kennet, 452.

the zeal of those whose religious opinions seemed to connect them more closely with his interests; when he dared not call a parliament, and could not trust his army; he republished his declaration for liberty of conscience. It is a painful consideration, that this act, which, if it had been done at a proper season and from good motives, might have formed the glory of any Christian king, can now only be regarded as the last arbitrary proceeding of one who would willingly have made himself a tyrant; and that the political liberty of our country must date its origin from the opposition which was now raised to a proclamation, in itself advocating the cause of religious freedom; so complicated are the connexions between real and pretended liberty. This declaration, which had been originally published April 4th, 1687, was now put forth with a new preface and conclusion, (April 27th,) stating the determination of the king to support it, the efficient state of the army and navy, and the prosperous condition of the country; and as if this were not sufficiently exasperating, it was directed by an order of council that it should be read in every parish church[a].

§. 768. The clergy were now placed in the very difficult situation* of either disobeying the commands of the king, or of contributing to their own degradation; and the more dignified members of that body nobly came forward to sustain the vio-

[a] That the clergy might, as Father Petre said, eat their own dung. (Kennet, iii. 481. Burnet, iii. 217.)

* Doyley's Sancroft, 254.

lence of the storm. Archbishop Sancroft, from the very first, seems to have been employed in consulting with his episcopal brethren, who happened to be in the neighbourhood of London, with regard to the line of conduct which they ought to pursue; and when after a few days he had assembled a certain number of bishops, it was agreed that they should present a petition to the king, signifying their reluctance to distribute and publish the declaration; and professing their readiness to come to some temper with the dissenters. This petition was signed by Sancroft*, W. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, F. Turner of Ely, J. Lake of Chichester, Th. Kenn of Bath and Wells, Thomas White of Peterborough, and Jonathan Trelawney of Bristol; and on the evening of the same day the six last presented it to his majesty at White Hall, for Sancroft had been previously forbidden to appear at court. The king received it with great appearance of anger; the bishops, who conducted themselves with great calmness and respectfulness of demeanour, were dismissed from the royal presence: and through some unfaithfulness of those about the king, a copy was printed and dispersed throughout the town on the same evening. The petition was afterwards subscribed by six more bishops[a], as approving its contents†, and the clergy generally followed the steps of the bishops, so that

[a] Compton of London, W. Lloyd of Norwich, R. Frampton of Gloucester, Seth Ward of Sarum, Peter Mew of Winchester, Thomas Lamplugh of Exeter. (Sancroft, 269.)

* Sancroft, 262.

† Ibid. 269.

not above two hundred of them, through the whole kingdom, read the declaration in their churches. There were four bishops[b] only who complied with the orders of the court*, and of these Crew suspended about thirty in his diocese for their refusal: and the diocese of Chester, of which Cartwright was bishop, united in an address of thanks for the declaration itself.

§. 769. James remained some time in suspense as to what measures he should pursue, but at length came to the imprudent resolution of prosecuting the bishops for a misdemeanour; and on Friday, June 8th, they were all committed to the Tower, because they would not enter into recognizances for their further appearance, a step which their legal advisers recommended them not to take. "The people," says Hume†, "were already aware of the danger to which "the prelates were exposed; and were raised to the "highest pitch of anxiety and attention with regard "to the issue of this extraordinary affair. But when

[b] Nathaniel Crew, bishop of Durham; Herb. Crofts of Hereford, Thomas Barlow of Lincoln, and Thomas Sprat of Rochester; Sprat was also dean of Westminster. (Rapin, 763.) "I was then "at Westminster school, and heard it read in the Abbey. As "soon as bishop Sprat, who was dean, gave order for reading it, "there was so great a murmur and noise in the church, that "nobody could hear him: but before he had finished, there "was none left but a few prebends in their stalls, the choris-"ters, and Westminster scholars. The bishop could hardly "hold the proclamation in his hands for trembling, and every "body looked under a strange consternation." Note of lord Dartmouth's in Burnet's Own Time, iii. 218. g.

* Life of James II. ii. 167. † viii. 261.

" they beheld these fathers of the church brought " from court under the custody of a guard, when " they saw them embarked in vessels on the river, " and conveyed towards the Tower, all their affec- " tion for liberty, all their zeal for religion blazed " up at once, and they flew to behold this affecting " and animating spectacle. The whole shore was " covered with crowds of prostrate spectators, who " at once implored the blessing of those holy pastors, " and addressed their petitions towards heaven for " protection during this extreme danger, to which " their country and their religion stood exposed. " Even the soldiers, seized with the contagion of " the same spirit, flung themselves on their knees " before the distressed prelates, and craved the bene- " diction of those criminals whom they were ap- " pointed to guard. Some persons ran into the " water, that they might participate more nearly of " those blessings which the prelates were distribut- " ing on all around them. The bishops themselves, " during this triumphant suffering, augmented the " general favour by the most lowly, submissive de- " portment; and they still exhorted the people to " fear God, honour the king, and maintain their " loyalty, expressions more animating than the most " inflammatory speeches. And no sooner had they " entered the precincts of the Tower than they hur- " ried to chapel, in order to return thanks for those " afflictions, which Heaven, in defence of its holy " cause, had thought them worthy to endure."

§. 770. On Friday, June 15th, these venerable

sufferers * were brought before the court of king's bench, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, but allowed to return to their own houses upon bail, till the day of trial, which was fixed for the 29th. The anxiety expressed by the country generally, was excessive, and the crowds assembled in Westminster hall and its neighbourhood, when their fate was to be decided, proportioned to the interest which all orders took in the event. The evidence for the prosecution consisted in the proof of the signature of the bishops, and of the publication of the petition, which was established on the testimony of the clerk and president of the privy-council. Their defence rested on the right of petitioning possessed by every Englishman, on the modest terms in which this petition was expressed, and the private manner in which it was presented; but the chief argument lay in the illegality of the dispensing power now claimed by the crown. Of the four judges on the bench, Wright and Allybone gave it as their opinion that the petition was a libel, and Holloway and Powel pronounced it not to be so. The jury remained in consultation all the night, and at six o'clock the next morning brought in their verdict of "Not guilty." The tumultuous joy excited by the news of their decision spread rapidly through the country, and the acclamations extended to the camp at Hounslow, where the eagerness with which the soldiers joined in expressing their satisfaction justly excited the alarms of the king.

* Sancroft, 288.

§. 771. The temper however of James was such, that he would not see the real condition to which he had reduced himself, and having always blamed the vacillation of his father and brother, he hoped to remedy by firmness an evil into which imprudence had led him. His immediate advisers, too, wished to widen the breach between the king and his subjects, and the manner in which he proceeded to act sufficiently accomplished this object. The week after the trial, he dismissed the two judges who had been favourable to the bishops, and issued, through the ecclesiastical commission, an order, that all chancellors and archdeacons should send in the names of those clergymen who had refused to read the declaration. Sancroft, who through the whole of this part of the transaction shewed great Christian firmness, published some admonitions * designed to be addressed by the bishops to their respective clergy, in which he calls upon them to exert themselves as became their station, and to endeavour to promote the peace of the nation, and unanimity between protestants. Indeed the friendly temper of the dissenters at this period called forth the praises of the church, and in consequence of the prevalence of such feelings, while the hour of danger was at hand, the archbishop made some attempts towards a comprehension. "The scheme was laid out †, and the se-
"veral parts of it committed to such of our divines
"as were thought most worthy to be intrusted with

* Doyley's Sancroft, i. 320. † Ibid. i. 327. Wake's Speech at Sacheverel's Trial, p. 212. 8vo.

" it. His grace took one part himself, another was " committed to Dr. Patric. The reviewing of the " Liturgy was referred to a select number of per- " sons. The design was this: to improve, and if " possible, amend our discipline: to review and en- " large our Liturgy, by correcting some things, by " adding others, and if it should be thought advis- " able by authority, when the matter should be le- " gally considered, first in convocation, then in par- " liament, by omitting some few ceremonies which " are allowed to be indifferent in their natures, as " indifferent in their usage, so as not to make them " of necessity binding on those who had conscien- " tious scruples respecting them, till they should be " able to overcome their weaknesses or their preju- " dices respecting them, and be willing to comply." Sancroft considered how good an opportunity had been lost at the restoration, because no previous steps had been taken by the friends of the church, and because the warmth of the other party had tended to inflame the minds of those who were sufficiently adverse to any alterations.

§. 772. " In the mean time by the continued * and " less disguised attempts of king James, against the " liberties of his subjects, and the safety of the pro- " testant church, matters were fast drawing to a cri- " sis. The protestants became every day more and " more convinced that nothing less than open resist- " ance could preserve to them the enjoyment of their

* Doyley's Sancroft, i. 330, &c.

" religious profession; and all eyes were turned to-
" wards Holland, as the quarter whence deliverance
" was to spring. The prince of Orange, in conse-
" quence of the numerous and strong solicitations he
" had received from persons of various ranks and in-
" terests in England, had come to the resolution of
" undertaking an expedition for the express purpose
" of saving that kingdom from the dangers which
" threatened to overwhelm it. In consequence, he
" had employed the earlier part of the year in mak-
" ing such preparations as had more the appearance
" of providing for the security of his own states, than
" of meditating any thing hostile against another.
" But as the autumn drew on, he was obliged to
" take other measures in collecting troops, artillery,
" and arms, which unequivocally marked the design
" of undertaking a foreign expedition. While this
" storm was gathering, James alone remained un-
" conscious of his danger. Blinded by his passions,
" and given over to infatuated counsels, he vainly
" hoped for success in measures from which every
" other eye saw that his ruin must ensue; and when
" preparations were making, the object of which was
" to all the world too plain to be mistaken, he alone
" remained in ignorance of their real destination.
" At last, about the middle of September, he first
" became convinced of the purpose of the intended
" expedition from Holland, by a letter, as it is said,
" from Lewis XIV. On receiving it, he turned pale,
" and stood motionless, and the letter dropped from
" his hand; striving to conceal his perturbation

" from his courtiers, he more plainly betrayed it;
" and they in affecting not to observe his emotion,
" shewed no less plainly that they did. The imme-
" diate effect of this discovery, and of the alarm
" which overwhelmed him, was to make him recur,
" with hurried precipitation, to milder measures of
" government, for the purpose of regaining his lost
" popularity. Accordingly, on Sept. 21, he pub-
" lished a declaration expressing that it was his re-
" solution to preserve inviolable the church of Eng-
" land; that he was willing the Roman catholics
" should remain excluded from the house of com-
" mons; and assuring his loving subjects, that he
" should be ready to do every thing else, for their
" safety and advantage, that becomes a king who
" will always take care of his people. Five days af-
" terwards, he declared his intention of restoring to
" the commission of the peace those gentlemen who
" had been displaced. But matters had advanced
" too far for these concessions to have any effect.
" Although ostensibly proceeding from his own free
" will, they were manifestly extorted from him by
" fear. All confidence in him, on the part of the
" people, was forfeited; and his devotion to the ca-
" tholic cause was known to be such, that he would
" certainly recur to his violent measures for esta-
" blishing it, as soon as the fear of consequences was
" again removed.

§. 773. " But what was the most striking effect
" of the alarm into which he was now thrown, he
" condescended to ask advice of those very persons

" whom he had so lately treated with hasty and in-
" considerate violence, the archbishop of Canter-
" bury and the rest of the bishops;" and was pleased in being able to assure his people of the returning cordiality between himself and their lordships. He took off the suspension from bishop Compton, and restored to the city of London their charter which had been so unwarrantably taken from them, and on Oct. 2 he received from Sancroft, and the other bishops who were in town, a paper[a] containing their opinion as to the measures which he ought to pursue, couched in language of meekness, and delivered with great gravity and courage. The king thanked the bishops for their advice, and each of the points either had been or were successively conceded; but the concession came too late, the country had lost all confidence in their sovereign, and his acts of grace were esteemed acts of weakness. Nay, the very prayers for the peace and safety of the nation, which Sancroft composed with great moderation and discretion, are said to have tended to con-

[a] It consists of ten heads: 1st, that he should commit the government in the several counties to those who were legally qualified; 2nd, annul the ecclesiastical commission; 3rd, restore the president and fellows of Magdalen college; 4th, reverse all dispensations; 5th, and not grant any for the future; 6th, that he should inhibit the vicar apostolic; 7th, fill all vacant bishopries; 8th, supersede all *quo warranto*'s and restore ancient charters; 9th, issue writs for a free parliament to provide for the security of the church of England and liberty of conscience; 10th and lastly, listen to the arguments which should be advanced by the bishops to induce him to return to the communion of the church of England. (Doyley's Sancroft, i. 340.)

firm the minds of the people in the quiet opposition which they raised against the proceedings of the court, by directing their thoughts to religion, the point concerning which the only danger seemed to threaten them.

§. 774. The change in the king's counsels with regard to the bishops caused them to be viewed at first as objects of suspicion, but their subsequent conduct, with respect to not expressing their abhorrence to the measures of the prince of Orange, placed their conduct in its true light. James, alarmed at the appearance of an universal defection when the intended invasion became evident, requested from such bishops as could be assembled at the moment a public expression of their dislike to the measures of his son in law, and in a long personal interview urged them to comply with his request. But after having vindicated themselves from the charge of having invited the prince, the bishops declined expressing any opinions distinct from the rest of the peers, whose interest in the prosperity of the nation was as strong as their own. This refusal, while it injured the cause of James, probably contributed to save episcopacy in England; for, had the bishops of this country committed themselves on the side of arbitrary power, as the Scotch bishops did; had they so fettered themselves by any declaration of opinions hostile to the principles of the revolution; it is not improbable that they would have been hindered from taking part in the events which subsequently occurred, and by leaving the field open to their ene-

mies, as was the case in the north, have tended to destroy the very order among us.

§. 775. James was much irritated at this refusal; but the landing of the Dutch, with its immediate consequences, prevented him from shewing his anger publicly. When it was known that the disembarkation had been effected, the bishops joined with several temporal peers in London to persuade the king to call a free parliament, a step which might even then, perhaps, have preserved the crown; but he refused to listen to the suggestion till he had found the insecurity of any reliance on the army, and had seen that as no one trusted him, he could confide safely in no one.

Events now followed each other in rapid succession. The king joined his army at Salisbury on the 19th of Nov., but found that resistance was in vain, since his own officers declined fighting against the prince. Deserted by his troops, his friends, and his children, he determined to call a parliament when it was too late, and at length attempted to fly into France. The peers who were in London assembled, and took upon themselves, for the time, the government of the country, in order to preserve peace; but the detention of James, and his return to Whitehall, where he was received with the acclamations of the people and the attendance of a considerable court, again seemed to give him a momentary hope that all was not lost. When, however, the prince of Orange came to London, and the difficulties which must have presented themselves as to any future

settlement became apparent, James was compelled hastily to quit his palace, and his escape into France was connived at.

§. 776. The personal character of James must explain to us many of the secret springs of those proceedings for which it might otherwise be difficult to assign any sufficient reason. He seems to have possessed that species of talent which would have rendered him a distinguished second in any department, but to have wanted that honest sound sense, which can alone qualify talent for the highest stations. His conduct as a young soldier under Turenne, his extreme attention to business, his readiness to obey, and, above all, his regulations with regard to the admiralty, mark him out as an object of admiration. He viewed trade with the eye of a superior statesman, and perceived its connexion with religious liberty. He saw that the establishment of liberty of conscience would make England great; but here his faults displayed themselves in connexion with his good sense, for he was utterly deficient in that uprightness of mind which might have delivered him out of the intricacies in which his prejudices and religion involved him.

The misfortunes which attended his early youth led him to false views of governing. The education which he had received in a camp, but, above all, the notions which he derived from colonel Berkeley*, who was intrusted with the care of him, and was a bold insolent man, disposed towards popery, and ex-

* Burnet, iii. 4.

ceedingly arbitrary in his temper and ideas, probably infused into the mind of James those high opinions concerning absolute power which were the incessant bane of his whole life.

§. 777. When he came to the throne, it was his first object to establish a strong government, for he had seen the miseries of a weak one during the lives of his two nearest relations: his only idea of a strong government was of one which did not depend on resources furnished at the will of the people, and which, therefore, might be denied him. While his brother was king, he had always been ready to allow England to be under the control of France, provided he could maintain his own authority in England; and when advanced to the throne, he was eager to adopt a line of policy, which, without rejecting the assistance of France, should enable him to emancipate himself from her power. The friendly feeling on the part of the people with which his reign commenced, and which must appear wonderful after the specimens which he had given of his own previous conduct, made him master of a revenue which, with his habits of business and economy, seemed to render him independent of his parliament; and the first point to which he applied himself in his general plan of establishing a strong and arbitrary government, was the introduction of the Roman catholic religion into Britain. He had ever connected the idea of rebellion with puritanic strictness, and he fancied that by bringing in his own outward form of worship, he should introduce with it his own

opinions as to passive obedience. It is often assumed, that James in his proceedings was influenced by religious motives. He alone who knoweth the hearts of men can estimate the motives of either kings or subjects, but all his conduct corresponds with the supposition that he wished to introduce arbitrary power. He had taken up the object of introducing Romanism into England, and in his attempts to effect any purpose, he was apt to disregard right and wrong, law and justice*: they alone were friends who aided his object, and whoever opposed it was a rebel. This temper of construing opposition† to his measures into treason pervaded the whole of his life, and tended more than any thing else to prevent even those most closely connected with him from loving or trusting him. In a free constitution, it is impossible to establish unanimity of measures, and unanimity of object can only be obtained by mutual confidence, a feeling which the faults of James entirely destroyed in all around him, and threw him into the hands of advisers who were either very dishonest or very foolish, or perhaps both. Lord Sunderland was probably careless of every result, save of his own interest, and the Jesuits had not prudence enough to manage so vast a business.

§. 778. James, who while he was king probably cared little about religion, at least he cared not for the essentials of religion in himself[a], was most

[a] In the latter part of his life he exhibited strong proofs of a

* Life, 733. 738. † Life, 734. Burnet, i. 288.

anxious to make others adopt his tenets, though he himself displayed no wish to submit his own judgment to the see of Rome. Louis, in his severity and injustice against protestants, was as careful to preserve his own temporal authority over the church as queen Elizabeth: he revoked the edict of Nantes, but was by no means indisposed to quarrel with the pope: and James, in his zeal for Romanism, would attend no further to the advice of Rome than as it coincided with his own views. He received the refugees who were driven from France, because by this measure he hoped to establish a spirit of toleration; for he was then desirous that the Roman catholics should be tolerated in England, and he foresaw the benefit which such an accession of active and industrious strangers must bring to his country. He prided himself much on the sacredness of his word; yet though he had promised as solemnly and frequently as was possible to uphold the church of England, he obviously sought every means of introducing Roman catholics into the higher preferments. And if his own mind could receive any comfort from the distinction between the church of England *de facto*, the protestant church, and the church *de jure*, or the Roman catholic, whereby while his promise seemed to speak of one he intended the other, such dishonesty would only tend to augment his guilt; he either meant to break his promise, or he admitted in his own mind such an equivocation as

sincere sense of religion. See his own Life, published by Clarke.

must prove him doubly dishonest; but as to his honesty of purpose, we have a confession of his own, which proves that he was not very scrupulous. In a dirty pecuniary transaction between Charles II. and the duchess of Portsmouth, wherein it was intended to raise a sum of money for her, by persuading James to surrender a rent charge on the post-office, he professes extreme readiness to do all that was desired*, yet "all this while the duke knew "very well his revenue was so settled that nothing "but an act of parliament could alienate any part "of it; which he took care not to mention to any "living soul, lest that might have made the king "lay the thoughts of it aside; and by great fortune "none of the lawyers about town, who were study-"ing which way to bring it about, hit upon that "difficulty." The acts of imprudence of which he was guilty, and which have been before partially detailed, arose from the same temper: he thought it beneath his dignity to conceal his wishes or his plans, and though he displayed and carried them on contrary to the desires of all his subjects, yet he wondered that he was hated, and perceived not that a king of England cannot be powerful unless he possess the love of his people.

779. After all, it may be questionable whether the ill conduct of James would have roused the nation to throw off their allegiance, had not the birth of a son and heir, who might continue the struggle, excited every one to exert himself in the defence of

* Life, i. 724.

that, which good men hold most dear, their religion and their liberty. The queen was delivered on June 10, and the dislike which was borne to the parents has caused the son to be sometimes called supposititious. At the time of his birth all the precautions do not appear to have been taken, which would have been desirable in consequence of subsequent suspicions: but as William never ventured to enter into a formal examination of the birth of the child, though he had mentioned this subject in his first declaration; and as he would probably have done so, had he found any evidence to substantiate a charge which would have been so useful to himself, we may fairly presume that it has no foundation in truth. But the fact that an heir was born, produced a strong effect in the country. The event on which the king and his Roman catholic advisers had always built their hopes was accomplished, but its accomplishment proved the ruin of their cause. Many an Englishman had looked forward to the time when a protestant successor should free them from their alarms, real and imaginary; but this hope was now destroyed, and every one saw that his safety depended on himself. Free men will not live in an uncertainty whether or no their rights are to be respected, and the conduct of James prevented any one from supposing that he meant to respect their rights, any further than his own want of power to subvert them should render it necessary.

§. 780. It may be asked, whether the present struggle were political or religious, whether the at-

tacks of the king were directed against the church or against the state: but this question can never be answered, till the line shall have been distinctly drawn between the church as a spiritual body, and the church establishment as a member of the body politic. The attack was made on the property of the church and on the property of the state, when men who were by law unqualified were put into civil and ecclesiastical stations: and the passions and prejudices, together with every honourable feeling of the people, were excited, when they beheld on the part of the crown a total disregard of the very appearance of law. When the bishops were imprisoned for petitioning the king, a right which belongs to every man in the kingdom was invaded: and the boldness of these sufferers, and the interest which was exhibited in their favour, was as much connected with patriotism as with religion. Yet since religion is a higher feeling than patriotism, since obedience to God is a plainer duty, and one in the performance of which the reason of all men will agree, whatever be their conduct, it naturally came to pass that the opinion of the country referred the quarrel to religious grounds. The question, however, still is of a mixed nature: had not religion been indirectly attacked, the country might never have been excited; and though the measures of James might have been opposed, the prince of Orange would probably not have been so strongly invited to rescue the kingdom from the misrule of his father in law.

§. 781. It is not easy to state exactly what part the church of England, as a body, took in this struggle; for by consulting different authorities we may draw conclusions diametrically opposite. They had, to use the language of the biographer of James, notwithstanding the doctrines* of non-resistance and passive obedience which they preached, "begun "early to spread jealousies among the people; and "instead of suffering with patience, they complained "before they felt any smart, and thought imaginary "dangers a good pretence to encourage a real sedi-"tion. They had preached prerogative and the so-"vereign power, to the highest pitch, while it was "favourable to them: but when they apprehended "the least danger from it, they cried out as soon as "the shoe pinched, though it was of their own put-"ting on." And the same invectives are thrown out against them by the historian of the puritans. Though there may be some grounds for such an accusation, yet the language of some of the addresses presented by the clergy had contained declarations sufficiently clear. The London clergy had used the expression, "our religion established by law, dearer "to us than our lives†;" the very terms adopted by the house of commons when Monmouth had been defeated. The wishes of James made him assume that the clergy generally spoke the same language as those individuals who wished to gratify him by their compliances; yet the readiness with which they all came forward in defence of the protestant

* Life, ii. 70. † Burnet, iii. 7. Welwood, 175.

faith when it was endangered, ought to have shewn him the value which they attached to their religion, and to have led him to presume that their submission would go no further than was consistent with their sense of duty towards God. With regard to many of the distinguished ornaments of our church, nothing can be more glorious than their conduct. They resisted the arbitrary proceedings of James, while he was king, and afterwards sacrificed their worldly situations, when, after his flight, they conceived that their duty towards him again demanded such a surrender. Their circumstances put them forward in the fight, and they nobly defended their country: happy would it have been, if all their later acts had been guided by the same spirit. But this part of the question belongs to another chapter.

# CHAPTER XVIII.

## DURING THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM AND MARY, 1688, 1689.

801. Non-jurors; many of the clergy unwilling to recognise the new government. 802. Inutility of oaths generally. 803. The authors of the revolution most injured by the oath; their subsequent ill conduct. 804. Their principles. 805. Principles of the revolution. 806. Toleration act; attempt at a comprehension; ecclesiastical commission for reforming evils. 807. Alteration of the Liturgy. 808. Further additions; family prayer; (b) American Prayer Book. 809. The convocation throw out every thing. 810. Advantages and disadvantages of this failure. 811. Summary of the History of the Church; Henry VIII; Edward VI. 812. Mary. 813. Elizabeth. 814. James II. 815. Charles and Laud. 816. Restoration. 817. Present constitution of the church. 818. Evils arising from the connexion of church and state. 819. Advantages and blessings.

§. 801. WHEN William and Mary were seated on the throne by the decision of the convention parliament, and it became necessary that those who held offices under the new government should express their adherence to it, the oaths of supremacy and allegiance were so modelled, as to be less particular with regard to the royal authority, and more decidedly adverse to the pretensions of the church of Rome. But many of the bishops, and some of the clergy, were unwilling in any way to acknowledge that which was in their eyes merely a government *de facto*, when they had before promised fidelity to

the other, on the ruins of which it had been established. Eight bishops[a] and about four hundred of the other clergy, most of whom held considerable situations in the church, refused to transfer their allegiance; and though great moderation was used towards them, before they were deprived, yet the necessity of depriving them, and the policy of the law which obliged every one holding such preferments to take the oaths, is very questionable. The question was indeed discussed, and one plan proposed was, to enable William to impose the oath at his pleasure; but this would have thrown the whole odium of ejecting the bishops on the king, and there was no absolute necessity of imposing the oath at all: it might probably have answered all the purposes of the government as effectually, if such persons had been severally required to make a promise not to disturb the new order of things. For as the large majority of the clergy took the oath, and many of them were certainly far from favourable to the objects of it, they who complied were often exposed to much censure, as having sworn contrary to their consciences; and neither those who then bound themselves in opposition* to their inclinations, nor those who by refusing to take the oath were de-

[a] The non-juring bishops were Sancroft; Lloyd, Norwich; Turner, Ely; Frampton, Gloucester; White, Peterborough; Kenn, Bath and Wells. These were ejected. Lake of Chichester and Thomas of Worcester had died in the meantime. (Doyley's Sancroft, i. 447.)

* Burnet, iv. 49.

prived of their preferments, were likely to prove very faithful adherents to their new sovereigns; whereas they might have been perfectly contented to continue quiet subjects, under a government which they had neither power nor inclination to disturb.

§. 802. No oaths, of whatever description, will bind bad men, when the sentiments of the mass of the people are contrary to the tenor of the oath; and there is no more frightful particular presented to us by history than the frequency with which oaths are imposed and broken[a]. The prudence and success of William prevented his opponents from having any opportunity of trying the force of the promises made to him; but had the fate of war in Ireland enabled James to assert his rights in this country, it is absurd to suppose that they who had sworn fidelity to both, could be bound to obey both, or would have hesitated in following their interests, or the inclinations of their own minds. He who holds an office or dignity under a government, may fairly be called on to declare his fidelity to that government in any way which the government shall choose to select; but it is very doubtful whether or no the authority imposing such an oath strengthens its hold on the mind of the man. He who takes an

[a] When William was about to go into Ireland, it was proposed to frame an oath of abjuration with regard to James II. In the debate in the house of lords the earl of Macclesfield declared, "that he never knew them of any use, but to make people de- "clare against the government, that would have submitted "quietly to it if they had been let alone." (Burnet, iv. 77. Note of Lord Dartmouth, u.)

office is *in foro conscientiæ* bound to perform the duties of it, whether he swear to do so or no: and probably general promises and oaths, made at the time of entering into office, have a good tendency in fortifying the resolutions of the individual; they form a sort of bond upon the man himself, when called on to exert his authority. It may happen that when he is wavering, as to whether or no he ought to act on some point, the thought of his oath may be useful to his own mind; but if it be not decidedly useful, the habit of taking frequent oaths cannot fail to injure him. And it is a disgrace to the age in which we live, that oaths with regard to trifling matters should be required on so many occasions as they are: for they must tend most injuriously to demoralize the people who take them.

§. 303. In this case many upright men, whose bold and temperate opposition to James had been chiefly instrumental in fixing the opinions of the nation, who, under God, had contributed more than any others to effect the change which had taken place, were the first to suffer for their uprightness. No one can fail to admire their conduct, and to pity them; (if indeed any one who suffers in the performance of his duty can be an object of pity;) but surely the government which imposes the oath by which such persons were ejected, has no reason to expect that it will be served by honest men. Most of these bishops would probably have continued to hold their preferments had there been no necessity of taking the oath, and would perhaps have readily promised

not to disturb the new government; but they felt their duty to James, and were ready to suffer rather than betray it. The law* which imposed the new oaths enabled the king to allow twelve non-juring clergymen incomes out of their benefices, but it does not appear that he made any use of this license. The act was a most impolitic one; for it gave to every friend of James a most convincing argument in favour of his claims, and could not but indispose the minds of honest men towards a government which could be guilty of such gross injustice.

But the ejected bishops and some of the non-jurors have made themselves, by their subsequent conduct, the objects of just disapprobation in the eyes of the friends of the establishment. For Sancroft, who from his age and timidity was unwilling to act himself, made over his archiepiscopal authority to Lloyd, bishop of Norwich, and the deprived prelates proceeded to continue the succession of bishops in the church, in opposition to those who were authorized by the government. This schism continued till 1779, but this subject does not properly fall within our portion of history. The principle on which these bishops acted was partly true and partly false; and the extent to which they carried it rendered it very prejudicial to the peace of the church.

§. 804. The authority by which every bishop or priest acts, is one which is derived by succession from the apostles, each succeeding generation communicating to the next the authority under which

* 1° William and Mary, 8.

they themselves have been acting. The division of the country into dioceses and parishes is a civil arrangement, which regulates the place where the individual shall exercise his ministry: but the civil power neither confers the ministerial authority nor can alter it. When, therefore, the civil authority deprived these non-juring bishops of their temporal jurisdictions, it could not divest them of the sacred office to which they had been called; and they conceived, that as this was still continued to them, they were bound still to exercise it. The same thing is actually taking place at this moment in Scotland. The legal church government there is presbyterian: yet are there a regular succession of protestant bishops who fill certain sees, without any authoritative power derived from the state, and constitute perhaps one of the purest forms of episcopacy in the world. As far as Scotland is concerned, her bishops are, in the opinion of an episcopalian, fully borne out in this apparent schism; because the rest of the church there, though legally established, has discarded the apostolical order of bishops, and the division must be charged by us on those who have introduced the anomaly of a Christian church without bishops. Let us hope that at this moment both parties are free from any schismatic feelings, and pray that God may guide whichever of them is wrong into the right path: but the bishops in England cannot be absolved from the crime of contributing to a schism; whatever their own ideas might be, they could hardly deem it necessary to make two

churches within the kingdom, because a usurper was prayed for in that connected with the establishment; and yet it is extraordinary that both Sancroft* and Tillotson, men whose opinions about the revolution were diametrically opposite, both concurred in esteeming it sinful for those who were opposed to the principles of the revolution, to join in a service in which a prayer was offered up for William and Mary. The schismatic feeling, the spirit of opposition which thus prevailed, with but few bright exceptions, was excessive, and no man was exposed to greater obloquy on this account than Tillotson†.

§. 805. If it be asked, whether the bishops were justified in the opposition raised by them against James, though they refused to submit to the government which this opposition had virtually established, the answer must depend on our opinion of the merits of the revolution itself. The blessings which have been derived to us from this great event make every Englishman anxious to justify the principles on which it was carried on; but after all, it seems much more clear that the revolution was necessary, than easy to justify it on any permanent principles. It is one of those extraordinary cases which are not referable to any general law; it was a recurrence to first principles, an exception to the law. About such questions Christianity probably gives no other rules than that great one, of "doing unto others as "we would have others do unto us;" and when those

* Doyley, 458; Birch's Tillotson, 282. † Birch's Till. 316.

in authority pervert that power which was intrusted to them for the good of their fellow creatures, in order to trample on their rights, it becomes the duty of those next in command and in authority, those into whose hands God has put a subordinate power, to exert this power for the good of the body politic. England would have been ruined, had the policy of James been continued; and William and the peers of the realm, aided by the representatives of the people, did the best they could under such circumstances: and we should be thankful to God that so great a benefit was effected. With these views the bishops were right in opposing James, and would have been wise, perhaps, had they taken the oaths: but who shall venture to blame old conscientious prelates who did not view the matter in this light? The hardship with which these good men were treated, rendered some of them morose, and made Turner, (bishop of Ely,) perhaps, afterwards join in lord Preston's plot; in which, as he answered for the other bishops, though probably without any authority, the blame was in some degree thrown on the whole body. But in their subsequent conduct about ecclesiastical matters they were at all events guilty of creating a schism in the church, and added one more to the ten thousand causes of division which have distracted the church of England, and which all the measures of conciliation used at this time proved inadequate to heal.

§. 806. Among these steps taken to tranquillize the nation and to promote peace, the passing of the

toleration act* stands preeminent. It granted the dissenters a full liberty as to religious worship, but was not extended either to Roman catholics or those who denied the doctrine of the Trinity; and left all who did not conform to the church of England under many disqualifications.

But a much greater attempt was made for healing our divisions by means of some alterations in the church itself. On Sept. 13, 1689, a commission was issued "to prepare alterations in the Liturgy and "Canons, to make proposals for reforming the eccle-"siastical courts, and to provide for a strict method "of examining candidates for holy orders." It consisted of ten bishops and twenty divines[a], many of whose names form the brightest ornaments of our church, from the writings which they have left behind them. They met in the Jerusalem chamber, and a discussion was soon raised as to the legality of the commission itself, but was overruled, since none of the acts of such an assembly could be at all

[a] Lamplugh, abp. of York.
Compton, bp. of London.
Mew, bp. of Winchester.
W. Lloyd, bp. of St. Asaph.
Spratt, bp. of Rochester.
Smith, bp. of Carlisle.
Trelawney, bp. of Exeter.
Burnet, bp. of Salisbury.
Humphreys, bp. of Bangor.
Stratford, bp. of Chester.
Stillingfleet.
Patric.
Tillotson.
Meggot.
Sharp.
Kidder.
Aldrich.
Jane.
Hall.
Beaumont.
Montagu.
Goodman.
Beveridge.
Battely.
Alston.
Tenison.
Scott.
Fowler.
Grove.
Williams.
(Birch's Tillotson, 181.)

* 10 William and Mary, 18.

binding till they had received legal confirmation, and were only destined to prepare matters for the convocation. Two bishops however, Mew and Spratt, and Drs. Jane and Aldrich, withdrew in dissatisfaction, and the subsequent conduct of these latter plainly shewed the motives which influenced them. As the labours of this commission in the end proved ineffectual, it is only by accident that we are acquainted with any of their proceedings, and this fortunately on the point which is perhaps in itself of the greatest interest; I mean with regard to the proposed alterations in the Liturgy.

§. 807. The points which were settled were*, that the chanting of divine service in cathedral churches shall be laid aside, that the whole may be rendered intelligible to the common people. That, besides the psalms being read in their course as before, some proper and devout ones be selected for Sundays.

That the Apocryphal lessons, and those in the Old Testament which are too natural, be thrown out, and others appointed in their stead by a new calendar; which is already fully settled, and out of which are omitted all the legendary saints' days, and others not directly referred to in the service book.

That, not to send the vulgar to search the canons, which few of them ever saw, a rubric be made, setting forth the usefulness of the cross in baptism [a],

[a] In Nicholl's Apparatus ad Defensionem Ecc. Ang. p. 95, &c. it is said, that it should be left to the decision of convoca-

* Birch's Tillotson, 193.

not as an essential part of that sacrament, but only a fit and decent ceremony. However if any do, after all, in conscience scruple it, it may be omitted by the priest.

That likewise if any refuse to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper kneeling, it may be administered to them in their pews.

That a rubric be made, declaring the intention of the Lent fasts to consist only in extraordinary acts of devotion, not in distinction of meats: and another to state the meaning of "rogation Sundays" and "ember weeks;" and appoint that those ordained within the *quatuor tempora* do exercise strict devotion. That the rubric which obliges ministers to read or hear "Common Prayer" publicly or privately every day, be changed to an exhortation to the people to frequent those prayers.

That the absolution in morning and evening prayer may be read by a deacon, the word *priest* in the rubric being changed into *minister*, and those words, "and remission," be put out, as not very intelligible.

That the *Gloria Patri* shall not be repeated at the end of every psalm, but of all appointed for morning and evening prayer. That those words in the *Te Deum*, "thine honourable, true, and only Son," be thus turned, "thine only begotten Son," honourable being only a civil term, and no where used *in sacris*.

The *Benedicite* shall be changed into the 128th psalm, and other psalms likewise appointed for the

tion whether the use of the cross should be left optional to the parents.

*Benedictus* and *Nunc dimittis*. The versicles after the Lord's Prayer, &c. shall be read kneeling, to avoid the trouble and inconveniences of so often varying postures in the worship. And after those words, "Give peace in our time, O Lord," shall follow an answer promissory of somewhat on the people's part, of keeping God's law, or the like: the old response being grounded on the predestinating doctrine taken in too strict an acceptation.

All high titles or appellations of the king, queen, &c. shall be left out of the prayers, such as *most illustrious*, *religious*, *mighty*, &c. and only the word *sovereign* returned for the king and queen. Those words in the prayer for the king, "Grant that he "may vanquish and overcome all his enemies," as of too large an extent if the king engage in an unjust war, shall be turned thus, "Prosper all his "righteous undertakings against thy enemies," or after some such manner.

Those words in the prayer for the clergy, "who "alone workest great marvels," as subject to be ill interpreted by persons vainly disposed, shall be thus, "who alone art the Author of all good gifts:" and these words, "the healthful Spirit of thy grace," shall be, "the holy Spirit of thy grace," healthful being an obsolete word. The prayer which begins "O God, whose nature and property," shall be thrown out, as full of strange and impertinent expressions, and besides not in the original, but foisted in since by another hand[b]. The collects, for the

[b] It is difficult to understand what is here meant. The prayer was introduced, 1560, from the Litany of the Salisbury Hours,

most part, are to be changed for those which the bishop of Chichester [c] has prepared, being a review of the old ones with enlargements, to render them more sensible and affecting, and what expressions are needless, to be retrenched.

If any minister refuse the surplice, the bishop, if the people desire it, and the living will bear it, may substitute one in his place, that will officiate in it, but the whole thing is left to the discretion of the bishops.

If any desire to have godfathers and godmothers omitted, and their children presented in their own names to baptism, it may be granted.

About the Athanasian [d] Creed, they came at last

and is certainly one of the most beautiful and Christian prayers in the Liturgy. He who has never felt the propriety and force of it, must be either a very good or a very bad man.

[c] Simon Patric. In Nicholl's Apparatus ad Def. Ecc. Ang. it is added, that the epistles for the day were selected so as better to agree with the several gospels. S. Patric framed the collects; G. Burnet added fresh spirit to them; Stillingfleet reviewed them; and Tillotson gave the last polish to them. Tenison altered all the expressions in the Liturgy to which objections were raised. It was left to convocation to determine whether, in the reordination of ministers ordained by presbyters only, a conditional form should not be used, as in the baptism of those about whose previous admission into the Christian covenant there is a doubt.

[d] Nicholls says, that it was left to the judgment of the minister to exchange this for the Apostles' Creed. Nicholls however is wrong. See Waterland's Tract, Works, iv. 305. Whoever wishes for information about this Creed may find it in Waterland. The history of the Creed is as follows. It was probably composed in France (between A. D. 426—430.) by

to this conclusion, that, lest the wholly rejecting it should by unreasonable persons be imputed to them as Socinianism, a rubric shall be made, setting forth or declaring the curses denounced therein not to be restrained to every particular article, but intended against those that deny the substance of the Christian religion in general.

Whether the amendment of the translation of the reading psalms (as they are called) made by the bishop of St. Asaph, (William Lloyd,) and Dr. Kidder, or that in the Bible, shall be inserted in the Prayer Book, is wholly left to the convocation to consider of and determine. Several alterations were made in the Litany, Communion Service, &c.

§. 808. H. Prideaux, dean of Norwich, had formed great hopes and expectations from this convocation, and in his life * mention is made of several desiderata in the Liturgy; but it is not stated whether the opinions there expressed were precisely his own. The points mentioned are, forms for receiving penitents [a], for preparing condemned prisoners, for the

Hilary, bishop of Arles, in Latin. The translation in our Prayer Book is taken by mistake from the Greek.

[a] In 1637, while Hall was bishop of Exeter, certain slaves returned to that diocese from Morocco, who, having renounced Christianity during their captivity, were on their return readmitted into the church. Laud and Hall composed a form of prayer for this purpose, which was approved by the bishops of Ely (White) and Norwich. (Wren,) and settled by the king's appointment. (See Laud's Own Life, p. 550.) In the convocation of 1640, one of the services then intended to have been

consecration of churches, and a book of family prayer, which was actually drawn up, but never published, and at last mislaid and lost at the death of Williams, bishop of Chichester, in whose hands it had been placed. Something of this sort was the more wanted at this period, since the custom of family prayer had been generally discontinued. The puritans disgusted many sober persons with their crude and extempore effusions, and the opposite party had extravagantly cried up the Liturgy, as if no other form of prayer was to be used in families, any more than in the churches; and the natural consequence was, that in houses where there were no chaplains, the Prayer Book was disused, and nothing substituted in its place.

In looking at the alterations now proposed, there are several particulars which seem to be unimportant, while others are omitted in which a change might be desirable; nor does it appear that the time occupied by the prayers would have been rendered shorter, the object perhaps most required, when our own service is compared with that of other reformed churches[b].

drawn up was a form of reconciling penitents and apostates. This probably would have only been an authoritative publication of the former. (Neal's Puritans, ii. 297.)

[b] The American Prayer Book, altered in 1790, is formed in great measure on this model. With the exception of one or two particulars, the changes appear to be judiciously made; and as it is not a book which falls in the way of every English reader, a brief statement of some of its chief variations from our own may not prove unacceptable. Throughout the whole there are many small verbal alterations, where obsolete terms or forms of

§. 809. All these attempts, however, were rendered abortive, by the temper which soon displayed itself in the lower house of convocation. The first

expression are exchanged for such as are now in common use; and most of those sentences and words altered which are liable to foolish cavils or real objections. It begins with a preface which modestly justifies the alterations.

1. In the calendar the lessons are a good deal changed. About one half the first lessons for Sundays are the same, and there are also proper second lessons from the New Testament, appointed for each Sunday. Those for saints' days are nearly the same as in ours. In the general calendar of lessons the chapters composing the first lessons are so divided, that all those taken from the Apocrypha, and which are read in our church from September to November, are omitted. The second lessons in morning service, taken from the gospels, are so divided, that the gospels are read over only twice during the year, and the epistles, as in our church, three times.

2. In the general arrangement of the three services which are used together in morning prayers in our church, such portions of each as are virtually repetitions, may be omitted at the discretion of the minister. Thus one creed only need be read; the Lord's Prayer and the collect for the day need only be used once; and the *Gloria Patri* repeated only at the end of the psalms for the day, or the *Gloria in excelsis* substituted for it. Thus also a large portion of the Litany (from "Oh Christ, hear "us," to "as we do put our trust in thee") may be omitted; and thus the morning prayer, litany, and communion service, are converted, as far as possible, into one uniform office.

3. Of the three forms of absolution in our Prayer Book, that used in the visitation of the sick is wholly omitted; and either the form contained in the morning prayer, or that taken from the communion service, may be used, at the discretion of the minister.

4. With regard to the psalms, there are ten portions of them selected, and ordered to be used instead of those of the day, at the discretion of the minister; and in cases of fasts and thanksgivings, where none are appointed by authority, the minister is

circumstance which evinced this disinclination to any changes, was the election of a prolocutor; for it had been the desire of the bishops, who were most

allowed to choose them for himself. The version is the same as that in our Liturgy.

5. The Athanasian creed is wholly omitted, and the minister may use, at his discretion, the Nicene or Apostles'.

6. In the evening prayers, the Magnificat and Song of Symeon are omitted, and the 92nd psalm introduced.

7. The occasional prayers are newly arranged, and several new ones, as well as corresponding thanksgivings, introduced.

8. In the communion, no previous notice is to be required of the communicants, who are all to receive kneeling. There is a new additional preface for Trinity Sunday; and a prayer of oblation, partly new, in which the invocation of the three Persons of the Trinity is reintroduced from the Liturgy of 1549.

9 In baptism, the parents are allowed to stand as sponsors, and the use of the cross may be omitted at their desire. The rubric about baptized children being undoubtedly saved is omitted; and in the baptism of persons of riper years all mention of informing the bishop is left out.

10. The catechism is nearly the same. Ministers are not ordered to catechise after the second lesson. The confirmation is nearly the same.

11. In matrimony, the ceremony may take place in a house, and the prayers are a little altered, and some are omitted.

12. In the visitation of the sick, all notice of private confession and absolution is omitted; the psalm is changed to the 130th, and there are some new occasional prayers at the end.

13. In the burial of the dead, the psalms are shortened, and all expressions changed which seem to apply to the state of the person buried.

14. The churching of women is much shortened, and may be confined to a single prayer. The offering to be applied to the relief of distressed women in childbirth.

15. The form of prayer to be used at sea is nearly the same.

16. The Commination is wholly omitted.

friendly to alterations, that Tillotson should have been chosen to that office; whereas Dr. Jane, author of the Oxford Decree, 1683*, and Regius Professor of Divinity, obtained a majority of two to one in his favour. This success was said to be greatly promoted by the interference of the earls of Clarendon and Rochester, uncles to queen Mary, who endeavoured to perplex the measures of the court, from the administration of which they found themselves excluded. And Birch, in his life of Tillotson, accuses Compton of having joined in this cabal, out of ill will to the destined prolocutor, who was already marked out as the successor of Sancroft. This election† sufficiently proved what was to be expected from the convocation; and Dr. Jane, in his speech which he made as prolocutor to the upper house, after having greatly extolled the church of England, concluded with the emphatic words, "Nolumus leges "Angliæ mutari." The commission from the crown,

17. The form of ordaining priests and deacons, and consecrating bishops, is nearly the same.

18. There are added, a form of prayer for the visitation of prisoners, a prayer of thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth, a form of family prayer, a form for consecrating churches, (which is nearly the same as that published by bishop Andrews,) and an office of institution.

19. The Thirty-nine Articles are hardly changed. In the eighth, all mention of the Athanasian Creed is left out; the twenty-first, about assembling councils, is left out. In the thirty-fifth, the homilies are allowed of as containing sound doctrine, but are not to be read till they have been revised.

* Sect. 729. † Tillotson, 202.

under which the convocation would have acted, was delayed on account of the loss of the great seal, which James had thrown into the Thames in his flight. It was couched in very conciliating terms, and requested that the matters proposed for the consideration of convocation might be discussed with impartiality and moderation. When this had been read, and it was necessary that an address should be prepared in answer to it, a dispute arose between the two houses, as to the terms in which they should return their thanks, since the lower house refused by any expression to acknowledge any connexion between the protestant churches generally and the church of England, and were but ill disposed to feel or evince any gratitude to the king for issuing the commission. The whole appearance indeed of the lower house was such, that the session was soon discontinued, and a considerable clamour justly raised against the clergy, who now expressed so little kindness towards their dissenting brethren, after all the promises which had been made while the dangers arising from a Roman catholic king united all protestants during the reign of James II.

§. 810. In one point of view, the failure of such a plan at this moment may be considered providential; for had any alterations in the Liturgy or constitutions been effected, it would have afforded the non-jurors a strong handle for attacking the church. They would then, with a greater shew of plausibility, have spoken of themselves as the ancient church of England, and thrown the blame of the

schism, which they themselves had created, on those who had introduced the innovations.

Whether or no any great success might have arisen from an attempt at a comprehension is very doubtful. Those who have once left the communion of the establishment are not likely to be reclaimed by any changes which can be made in the services; but it would surely be desirable, if every objection which a sober and reasonable member of the church might make to these formularies were as far as possible obviated. There were many things which did then, there are some things which do now, offend the true friends of the church of England, who willingly comply with the Liturgy and services as established by law, because they esteem the Common Prayer Book, as a whole, to be a most excellent composition, one wonderfully well suited for the purposes for which it was intended; but who nevertheless regard it as a human production, and therefore capable of improvement, as well as requiring from time to time verbal alterations, as the language of the country gradually varies. And the quiet friend of reform cannot but feel sorry that this attempt was then dropped, and has never since been carried into effect.

§. 811. The church of England was now established by law upon its present basis, and has retained the form which it then acquired without any variation. Though the several steps by which this object was accomplished have been gradually detailed, yet it may not be uninteresting to take a

brief and summary view of the progressive alterations, and of the constitution of the church as it exists at this moment.

The church of England first ceased to be a member of the church of Rome during the reign of Henry VIII. but it could hardly be called protestant till that of Edward VI. Its doctrines were in an intermediate state, and differed little from the declaration of faith set forth by the Roman catholic bishops of England in 1826. During the short reign of Edward VI. it became entirely protestant, and in point of doctrine assumed its present form. This step however was made rather by the decree of the government than by the conviction of the nation. The people, indeed, were generally too ignorant to form any opinions of their own; and the probability of opposition, which might naturally have been expected from the clergy had any attempt been made to introduce these innovations through their intervention, induced Cranmer and the Protector to establish what has been called a parliamentary religion. Viewing then the religion thus authorized as a part of the law of land, to disagree with it became, in the eye of the government, an offence against the state, and as such punishable by civil penalties.

§. 812. Under Mary, the kingdom was reconciled to the church of Rome, but the entire sway of that court was far from being reestablished. Mary persecuted from principle, and the persecutions which were then inflicted, served to open the eyes of the

people to the evils of a form of religion, under the mask of which such barbarities could be perpetrated, and made them gladly recur to the tenets which had been previously established, as soon as her death gave them an opportunity of doing so.

§. 813. Elizabeth was herself not indisposed to have approached as near as possible to the Romish communion: an inclination which was increased in her through the opposition exhibited by the puritans of her day, with whom the love of liberty political and religious was most closely blended, and who were ready to withstand her arbitrary proceedings in the government of the country, as well as to disregard the ceremonies and rites of the church. The power of the ecclesiastical courts was exerted to depress this spirit of independence, and any act which marked a dissent from the church was severely restrained by cruel penalties. The court of ecclesiastical commission became the tool of the state, and the idea of opposition to church and state was closely combined in the minds of those, who either tried to establish civil freedom, or who resisted the institutions of the church.

§. 814. Under the weak reign of James I. all these evils were very much increased. He had personally suffered much from the presbyterians; he carried his notions of prerogative much higher, and administered the government in such a manner, that those who were discontented with the state of affairs learnt that no safety could be expected, except from the dissemination of their own principles, and the

combination which would be thus formed against the proceedings of the court. And the impolicy of the court itself, by a misuse of the term *puritan*, combined together all who were adverse to the government, civil or ecclesiastical, and augmented the ranks of their opponents, who were perhaps from these circumstances involuntarily forced to become the enemies of both church and state.

§. 815. All these evils assumed a more formidable appearance during the administration of Laud, in the time of Charles I. The courts of high-commission and of the star-chamber were so connected in practice, that the kingdom viewed them as branches of the same system of tyranny: and, regarding rather the administrators than the courts in which they acted, the people learnt to hate the bishops and the higher clergy. The canons of 1640 added to this odium; for, had they been carried into effect, they would have rendered the clergy the instruments of disseminating doctrines* which no free nation can consistently maintain. But the chief mistake in the administration of Laud was, that he ranked so many individuals among such as were unfriendly to the church, and in his conduct shewed himself so adverse to all who were branded with his displeasure, that he made them assume a character foreign to their wishes; and thus, men who ought to have been the support of the establishment, and who would probably have proved so, had they not been cut off from all hopes of rising in their profession, were

* Sect. 570.

numbered among the enemies of the church, and, as it were, compelled to become so. These circumstances threw down the constitution of the church when the civil government was overturned; but even before this event the king had made a material alteration in the ecclesiastical constitution, by passing an act of parliament which took away most of the coercive power from the bishops' courts.

§. 816. At the restoration, the authority of the bishops' courts was restored, yet deprived of its excessive power by the destruction of the court of high commission. This, however, did not deliver the mass of dissenters from the persecutions to which they had been formerly subjected. The royalist house of commons became as persecuting as the high commission had ever been, and the laws which were enacted against nonconformists and Roman catholics shew that a spirit of persecution is not confined to churchmen alone. It is a dreadful, but natural temper of the human mind. These circumstances, however, produced one blessing; by degrees they opened the eyes of all orders to the real nature of toleration; and as the persecutions in the days of Mary tended, under God's providence, to establish protestantism in England, so the miseries now borne by the dissenters contributed to afford us the blessings which liberty of conscience is calculated to confer on those nations which enjoy it either in part or in whole.

§. 817. The constitution of the church of England, as settled at the revolution, was that of an au-

thorized and paid establishment, which was not allowed to persecute those who dissented from it. It was a church supported by the government, but not so exclusively, as to render any opposition to it, or dissent from it, an offence against the state. To these observations there were two exceptions, with regard to the Roman catholic and the Socinian. But when we consider the numbers of the several denominations of Christians in England, we may say that toleration was generally established, and that these exceptions did not invalidate the great charter of liberty of conscience, which this event had granted us; they obscured its glory, rather than impaired its substantial existence. The church of England then became, as it has continued ever since, a paid and authorized church establishment; which was to guard over the spiritual concerns of the nation, and to try to benefit the country, by making every member of the body politic a better man and a better Christian; it became our appointed duty to endeavour to lead our brethren, through peace on earth, to bliss in heaven. The institution of such a body depended on the enactments of the first teachers of our holy faith. The payment of it, and its connexion with the state, has arisen from the gratitude which our forefathers felt towards a society so constituted. But this connexion has fettered the church with many evils.

§. 818. It has justly authorized the state in interfering with clerical appointments, and from the value of the revenues which are attached to them has

unfortunately prevented those, at whose disposal they are placed, from seeking proper persons to fill the situations, while it has induced the clergy to seek for the preferments. The poverty of many of our spiritual cures prevents them, humanly speaking, from being properly taken care of; and God knows whether the wealth of others does not tend to diffuse a want of spirituality through the church.

It has induced the state, from mistaken kindness, to connect civil penalties with ecclesiastical censures, and by altering the nature of such control, by diverting it from the consciences to the present fears of the sinner, has done away with the utility of them altogether.

It has put a stop in a great measure to the exercise of discipline over the members of the church itself; and while we trust that the establishment contains perhaps as large a number of the real servants of God as any other body of men of the same size, we cannot but deplore that there are many offending members in it, for the correction and cutting off of whom, no steps are, or perhaps can be taken.

§. 819. These are some of the most obvious evils with which the connexion between church and state has encumbered the establishment: but let us not shut our eyes to the benefits of this connexion. Let any one regard the church establishment as a moral police disseminated through the country, and he must be blind to the interests of civilization, if he thank not God for the advantages which are produced by the distribution of educated men in every

part of England. Let him regard it as the instrument, under God, of spreading the knowledge of pure and simple Christianity, and he must be ignorant of the blessings of our holy faith, if he thank not God that a minister of the gospel is provided for every parish. And if there be faults but too visible in the administration of this establishment, let us pray God that they may be reformed by the steady hand of those invested with legal authority; and that neither the dilatoriness nor the half-measures of her real friends, may transfer the task of reformation to those who are hostile to the interests of our church.

## APPENDIX F.

See §. 170. a. JAMES Bainham was a lawyer of a good family and had married the daughter of Simon Fish; in 1531 he was brought before sir Thomas More and bishop Stokesley, but submitted. The next year he was again in trouble as a relapsed heretic, and ultimately handed over to the civil power to be burnt. Fox, ii. 245, &c.

"After this, Mr. Latymer was retained in the "court, and resorted much to London, and preached "the gospel in divers churches there, to the great "benefit of many, and the propagation of religion. "Here, in 1532, he gave a charitable visit to James "Bayneham, a little before his burning, upon this "occasion. 'After Mr. Bayneham had been con-"demned between More, the lord chancellor, and "the bishops, and committed unto the secular power "to be brent; and so, immediatly after his con-"dempnation, lodged up in the deep dungeon in "Newgate, ready to be sent to the fire, Edward "Isaac, of the parish of Wel, in the county of "Kent, and William Morice, of Chipping Ongar, "the county of Essex, esq.r and Raphe Morice, "brother unto the said William, being togethers "in one company, met with Mr. Latymer in Lon-"don. And for that they were desirous to under-"stand the cause of the said Bayneham's condemp-

" nation, being to many men obscure and unknown,
" they entreated Mr. Latymer to go with them to
" Newgate, to th'intent to understand by him the
" very occasion of his said condempnation: and
" otherwise to comfort him to take his death quietly
" and patiently. When Mr. Latymer and thother
" before named, the next day before he was brent,
" were come down into the dungeon, where al things
" seemed utterly dark, there they found Bayneham
" sitting upon a couch of straw, with a book and
" a wax candle in his hand, praying and reading
" therupon.

" 'And after salutation made, Mr. Latymer began
" to commune with him in this sort: Mr. Bayne-
" ham, we hear say that you are condempned for
" heresy to be brent; and many men are in doubt,
" wherfore you should suffer; and I, for my part,
" am desirous to understand the cause of your death;
" assuring you, that I do not allow that any man
" should consent to his own death, unles he had a
" right cause to dy in. Let not vainglory overcome
" you in a matter that men deserve not to dy for:
" for therin you shall neither please God, do good to
" your self, nor your neighbour. And better it were
" for you to submit your self to the ordinances of
" men, than so rashly to finish your life without
" good ground. And therfore we pray you to let
" us understand the articles that you are con-
" dempned for. I am content, quoth Bayneham, to
" tel you altogether. The first article that they
" condemne me for is this, that I reported that Tho-

" mas Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury,
" was a traitor, and was dampned in hel, if he re-
" pented not: for that he was in armes against his
" prince, as a rebel; provoking other foreign princes
" to invade the realm, to the utter subversion of the
" same. Then said Mr. Latymer, Where read you
" this? Quoth Mr. Bayneham, I read it in an old
" history. Wel, said Mr. Latymer, this is no cause
" at all worthy for a man to take his death upon;
" for it may be a ly, as well as a true tale; and in
" such a doubtful matter it were mere madnes for
" a man to jeopard his life. But what else is layd
" to your charge? The truth is, said Bayneham, I
" spake against purgatory, that there was no such
" thing, but that it picked mens purses: and against
" satisfactory masses: which [assertions of mine] I
" defended by the authority of the scriptures. Mary,
" said Mr. Latymer, in these articles your conscience
" may be so stayed, that you may seem rather to dy
" in the defence thereof, than to recant both against
" your conscience and the scriptures also. But yet
" beware of vainglory: for the Devil will be ready
" now to infect you therwith, when you shall come
" into the multitude of the people. And then Mr.
" Latymer did animate him to take his death quietly
" and patiently. Bayneham thanked him heartily
" therfore. And I likewise, said Bayneham, do ex-
" hort you to stand to the defence of the truth: for
" you, that shall be left behind, had need of comfort
" also, the world being so dangerous as it is. And
" so spake many comfortable words to Mr. Latymer.

"' At the length Mr. Latymer demanded of him,
" whether he had a wife or no? With that question
" Bayneham fel a weeping. What, quoth Latymer,
" is this your constancy to Godwards? What mean
" you thus to weep? O! sir, said Bayneham to
" Mr. Latymer, you have now touched me very
" nigh. I have a wife, as good a woman as ever
" man was joyned unto. And I shal leave her now,
" not only without substance, or any thing to live
" by; but also, for my sake, she shal be an opprobrie
" unto the world, and be pointed at of every man in
" this sort, Yonder goeth a heretique's wife! And
" therfore she shall be disdained for my sake; which
" is no small grief unto me. Mary, sir, quoth La-
" tymer, I perceive that you are a very weak cham-
" pion, that wil be overthrown with such a vanity.
" Where are become all those comfortable words
" that so late you alledged unto us, that should tary
" here behind you? I mervail what you mean. Is
" not Almighty God hable to be husband to your
" wife, and a father unto your children, if you com-
" mit them to him in a strong faith? I am sory to
" se you in this taking, as though God had no care
" of his, when he numbreth the hairs of a manys
" head. If he do not provide for them, the fault is
" in us that mistrusteth him. It is our infidelity
" that causeth him to do nothing for ours. Ther-
" fore, repent, Mr. Bayneham, for this mistrusting
" of Almighty God's goodnes. And be you sure,
" and I do most firmely believe it, that if you do
" commit your wife with a strong faith unto the go-

" vernance of Almighty God, and so dy therin, that " within this two years, peradventure in one year, " she shal be better provided for, as touching the fe- " licity of this world, than you, with al your policy, " could do for her your self, if you were presently " here. And so, with such like words, expostulat- " ing with him for his feeble faith, he made an end. " Mr. Bayneham, calling his spirits to himself, most " heartily thanked Mr. Latymer for his good com- " fort and counsel; saying plainly, that he would " not for much good, but he had come thither to " him: for nothing in the world so much troubled " him, as the care of his wife and family. And so " they departed. And the next day Bayneham was " burnt.' Of whose death this wondrous thing is " recorded, that in the midst of the flames he pro- " fessed openly, that he felt no pain; and that the " fire seemed unto him as easy as lying down in a " bed of down. But return we to Latymer, who " glorified God twenty-three years after in the same " manner of death, and under the same imputation " of heresy *."

The deaths of Ridley and Latimer may be found not only in Fox, but reprinted in Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. iii. 418, &c. That of Cranmer is thus described in Strype:

" Yet, because it is not convenient so briefly to " pass over such a remarkable scene of his life, being " his last appearance upon the stage of this world,

* Strype's Eccl. Mem. III. i. p. 372.

" I shall represent it in the words of a certain grave
" person unknown, but a papist, who was an eye
" and ear witness, and related these matters, as it
" seems, very justly, in a letter from Oxon to his
" friend. Which is as followeth:

" 'But that I know for our great friendship, and
" long continued love, you look even of duty that I
" should signify to you of the truth of such things
" as here chanceth among us; I would not at this
" time have written to you the unfortunate end, and
" doubtful tragedy, of T. C. late bishop of Canter-
" bury: because I little pleasure take in beholding
" of such heavy sights. And, when they are once
" overpassed, I like not to rehearse them again;
" being but a renewing of my wo, and doubling my
" grief. For although his former life, and wretched
" end, deserves a greater misery, (if any greater
" might have chanced than chanced unto him.) yet,
" setting aside his offences to God and his country,
" and beholding the man without his faults, I think
" there was none that pitied not his case, and be-
" wailed his fortune, and feared not his own chance,
" to see so noble a prelate, so grave a counsellor, of
" so long continued honour, after so many dignities,
" in his old years to be deprived of his estate, ad-
" judged to die, and in so painful a death to end
" his life. I have no delight to increase it. Alas,
" it is too much of itself, that ever so heavy a case
" should betide to man, and man to deserve it.

" 'But to come to the matter: on Saturday last,
" being the 21st of March, was his day appointed

" to die. And, because the morning was much rainy,
" the sermon appointed by Mr. Dr. Cole to be made
" at the stake, was made in St. Mary's church:
" whither Dr. Cranmer was brought by the mayor
" and aldermen, and my lord Williams. With whom
" came divers gentlemen of the shire, sir T. A. Bridges,
" sir John Browne, and others. Where was pre-
" pared, over-against the pulpit, an high place for
" him, that all the people might see him. And,
" when he had ascended it, he kneeled down and
" prayed, weeping tenderly: which moved a great
" number to tears, that had conceived an assured
" hope of his conversion and repentance.

" 'Then Mr. Cole began his sermon. The sum
" whereof was this. First, he declared causes why
" it was expedient that he should suffer, notwith-
" standing his reconciliation. The chief are these.
" One was, for that he had been a great cause of all
" this alteration in this realm of England. And, when
" the matter of the divorce between king Henry
" VIII. and queen Katharine was commenced in the
" court of Rome, he, having nothing to do with it,
" set upon it as judge, which was the entry to all
" the inconveniences that followed. Yet in that he
" excused him, that he thought he did it not of
" malice, but by the persuasions and advice of cer-
" tain learned men. Another was, that he had been
" the great setter forth of all this heresy received
" into the church in this last time; had written in
" it, had disputed, had continued it, even to the last
" hour: and that it had never been seen in this

" realm (but in the time of schism) that any man " continuing so long hath been pardoned: and that " it was not to be remitted for ensamples-sake. " Other causes he alleged, but these were the chief, " why it was not thought good to pardon him. " Other causes beside, he said, moved the queen and " the council thereto, which were not meet and con- " venient for every one to understand them.

" 'The second part touched the audience, how " they should consider this thing: that they should " hereby take example to fear God: and that there " was no power against the Lord: having before " their eyes a man of so high degree, sometime one " of the chiefest prelates of the church, an archbi- " shop, the chief of the council, the second peer in " the realm of long time: a man, as might be " thought, in greatest assurance, a king of his side; " notwithstanding all his authority and defence to " be debased from an high estate to a low degree; " of a counsellor to be a caitiff; and to be set in so " wretched estate, that the poorest wretch would " not change conditions with him.

" 'The last and end appertained unto him: whom " he comforted and encouraged to take his death " well, by many places of Scripture. And with these, " and such, bidding him nothing mistrust but he " should incontinently receive that the thief did: to " whom Christ said, *Hodie mecum eris in paradiso.* " And out of St. Paul armed him against the terrors " of the fire, by this: *Dominus fidelis est: Non* " *sinet nos tentari ultra quam ferre potestis:* by the " example of the three children; to whom God made

" the flame seem like a pleasant dew. He added
" hereunto the rejoicing of St. Andrew in his cross:
" the patience of St. Laurence on the fire: ascer-
" taining him, that God, if he called on him, and to
" such as die in his faith, either will abate the fury
" of the flame, or give him strength to abide it. He
" glorified God much in his conversion; because it
" appeared to be only his work: declaring what
" travel and conference had been used with him to
" convert him, and all prevailed not, till it pleased
" God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him
" home. In discoursing of which place, he much com-
" mended Cranmer, and qualified his former doing.

" 'And I had almost forgotten to tell you, that
" Mr. Cole promised him, that he should be prayed
" for in every church in Oxford, and should have
" mass and *Dirige* sung for him: and spake to all
" the priests present to say mass for his soul.

" 'When he had ended his sermon, he desired all
" the people to pray for him; Mr. Cranmer kneeling
" down with them, and praying for himself. I think
" there was never such a number so earnestly pray-
" ing together. For they, that hated him before,
" now loved him for his conversion, and hope of
" continuance. They that loved him before could
" not sodenly hate him, having hope of his confes-
" sion again of his fall. So love and hope increased
" devotion on every side.

" 'I shall not need, for the time of sermon, to de-
" scribe his behaviour, his sorrowful countenance,
" his heavy cheer, his face bedewed with tears;
" sometime lifting his eyes to heaven in hope, some-

" time casting them down to the earth for shame;
" to be brief, an image of sorrow: the dolor of his
" heart bursting out at his eyes in plenty of tears:
" retaining ever a quiet and grave behaviour. Which
" increased the pity in men's hearts, that they un-
" feignedly loved him, hoping it had been his re-
" pentance for his transgression and error. I shall
" not need, I say, to point it out unto you; you can
" much better imagine it yourself.

" 'When praying was done, he stood up, and,
" having leave to speak, said, Good people, I had in-
" tended indeed to desire you to pray for me;
" which because Mr. Doctor hath desired, and you
" have done already, I thank you most heartily for
" it. And now will I pray for myself, as I could
" best devise for mine own comfort, and say the
" prayer, word for word, as I have here written it.
" And he read it standing, and after kneeled down,
" and said the Lord's Prayer; and all the people on
" their knees devoutly praying with him. His prayer
" was thus:

" 'O FATHER of heaven; O Son of God, Re-
" deemer of the world; O Holy Ghost, proceeding
" from them both, three persons and one God, have
" mercy upon me most wretched caitiff, and miser-
" able sinner. I who have offended both heaven
" and earth, and more grievously than any tongue
" can express, whither then may I go, or whither
" should I fly for succour? To heaven I may be
" ashamed to lift up mine eyes; and in earth I find
" no refuge. What shall I then do? shall I despair?

" God forbid. O good God, thou art merciful, and " refusest none that come unto thee for succour. " To thee therefore do I run. To thee do I humble " myself: saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, " but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. " O God the Son, thou wast not made man, this " great mystery was not wrought, for few or small " offences. Nor thou didst not give thy Son unto " death, O God the Father, for our little and small " sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world: " so that the sinner return unto thee with a peni- " tent heart; as I do here at this present. Where- " fore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whose property " is always to have mercy. For although my sins " be great, yet thy mercy is greater. I crave no- " thing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but for thy " name's sake, that it may be glorified thereby: and " for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now " therefore, Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

" 'Then rising, he said, Every man desireth, " good people, at the time of their deaths, to give " some good exhortation, that other may remember " after their deaths, and be the better thereby. So " I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak " something, at this my departing, whereby God " may be glorified, and you edified.

" 'First, It is an heavy case to see, that many folks " be so much doted upon the love of this false world, " and so careful for it, that or the love of God, or " the love of the world to come, they seem to care

" very little or nothing therefore. This shall be my
" first exhortation. That you set not over-much by
" this false glosing world, but upon God and the
" world to come: and learn to know what this lesson
" meaneth, which St. John teacheth, *That the love*
" *of this world is hatred against God.*

" 'The second exhortation is, That, next unto
" God, you obey your king and queen willingly and
" gladly, without murmur or grudging; and not for
" fear of them only, but much more for the fear of
" God: knowing that they be God's ministers, ap-
" pointed by God to rule and govern you. And
" therefore whoso resisteth them, resisteth God's or-
" dinance.

" 'The third exhortation is, That you love alto-
" gether like brethren and sistern. For, alas! pity
" it is to see what contention and hatred one Chris-
" tian man hath to another: not taking each other
" as sisters and brothers; but rather as strangers
" and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and
" bear well away this one lesson, To do good to all
" men as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man,
" no more than you would hurt your own natural
" and loving brother or sister. For this you may
" be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and
" goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him,
" surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that
" man, although he think himself never so much in
" God's favour.

" 'The fourth exhortation shall be to them that
" have great substance and riches of this world,

" That they will well consider and weigh those " sayings of the Scripture. One is of our Saviour " Christ himself, who saith, *It is hard for a rich* " *man to enter into heaven:* a sore saying, and yet " spoke by him that knew the truth. The second is " of St. John, whose saying is this, *He that hath the* " *substance of this world, and seeth his brother in* " *necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him,* " *how can he say, he loveth God?* Much more might " I speak of every part; but time sufficeth not. I " do but put you in remembrance of things. Let " all them that be rich, ponder well those sentences: " for if ever they had any occasion to shew their cha- " rity, they have now at this present, the poor people " being so many, and victuals so dear. For though " I have been long in prison, yet I have heard of " the great penury of the poor. Consider, that that " which is given to the poor, is given to God: whom " we have not otherwise present corporally with us, " but in the poor.

" 'And now, for so much as I am come to the last " end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life " passed, and my life to come, either to live with " my Saviour Christ in heaven, in joy, or else to be " in pain ever with wicked devils in hell; and I see " before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to " receive me, or hell ready to swallow me up; I " shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, " how I believe, without colour or dissimulation: for " now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have " written in times past.

" 'First, I believe in God the Father Almighty,
" maker of heaven and earth, &c and every article
" of the catholic faith, every word and sentence
" taught by our Saviour Christ, his apostles, and
" prophets, in the Old and New Testament.

" 'And now I come to the great thing that trou-
" bleth my conscience more than any other thing
" that ever I said or did in my life: and that is, the
" setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth.
" Which here now I renounce and refuse, as things
" written with my hand, contrary to the truth which
" I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death,
" and to save my life, if it might be: and that is, all
" such bills, which I have written or signed with
" mine own hand since my degradation: wherein I
" have written many things untrue. And forasmuch
" as my hand offended in writing contrary to my
" heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished:
" for if I may come to the fire, it shall be first
" burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him, as
" Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false
" doctrine.

" 'And here, being admonished of his recantation
" and dissembling, he said, Alas, my lord, I have
" been a man that all my life loved plainness, and
" never dissembled till now against the truth; which
" I am most sorry for. He added hereunto, that,
" for the sacrament, he believed as he had taught in
" his book against the bishop of Winchester. And
" here he was suffered to speak no more.

" 'So that his speech contained chiefly three points.

" love to God, love to the king, and love to the " neighbour. In the which talk he held men very " suspense, which all depended upon the conclusion: " where he so far deceived all men's expectations, " that, at the hearing thereat they were much " amazed; and let him go on a while, till my lord " Williams bad him play the Christen man, and re- " member himself. To whom he answered, That he " so did: for now he spake truth.

" 'Then he was carried away; and a great num- " ber, that did run to see him go so wickedly to his " death, ran after him, exhorting him, while time " was, to remember himself. And one Friar John, " a godly and well-learned man, all the way travelled " with him to reduce him. But it would not be. " What they said in particular I cannot tell, but the " effect appeared in the end: for at the stake he " professed, that he died in all such opinions as he " had taught, and oft repented him of his recanta- " tion.

" 'Coming to the stake with a cheerful countenance " and willing mind, he put off his garments with " haste, and stood upright in his shirt: and a bache- " lor of divinity, named Elye, of Brazen-nose col- " lege, laboured to convert him to his former re- " cantation, with the two Spanish friars. But when " the friars saw his constancy, they said in Latin " one to another, *Let us go from him; we ought not* " *to be nigh him: for the devil is with him.* But " the bachelor in divinity was more earnest with " him: unto whom he answered, that, as concerning

" his recantation, he repented it right sore, because " he knew it was against the truth; with other " words more. Whereupon the lord Williams cried, " Make short, make short. Then the bishop took " certain of his friends by the hand. But the bache- " lor of divinity refused to take him by the hand, " and blamed all others that so did, and said, he was " sorry that ever he came in his company. And yet " again he required him to agree to his former re- " cantation. And the bishop answered, (shewing his " hand.) This is the hand that wrote it, and there- " fore shall it suffer first punishment.

" 'Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his " right hand, and thrust it into the flame, and held " it there a good space, before the fire came to any " other part of his body; where his hand was seen " of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud " voice, *This hand hath offended.* As soon as the " fire got up, he was very soon dead, never stirring " or crying all the while.

" 'His patience in the torment, his courage in dy- " ing, if it had been taken either for the glory of God, " the wealth of his country, or the testimony of " truth, as it was for a pernicious error, and subver- " sion of true religion, I could worthily have com- " mended the example, and matched it with the " fame of any father of ancient time: but, seeing " that not the death, but the cause and quarrel " thereof, commendeth the sufferer, I cannot but " much dispraise his obstinate stubbornness and " sturdiness in dying, and specially in so evil a

" cause. Surely his death much grieved every man;
" but not after one sort. Some pitied to see his
" body so tormented with the fire raging upon the
" silly carcass, that counted not of the folly. Other,
" that passed not much of the body, lamented to see
" him spill his soul, wretchedly, without redemption,
" to be plagued for ever. His friends sorrowed for
" love; his enemies for pity: strangers for a com-
" mon kind of humanity, whereby we are bound one
" to another. Thus I have enforced myself, for your
" sake, to discourse this heavy narration, contrary
" to my mind: and, being more than half weary,
" I make a short end, wishing you a quieter life,
" with less honour; and easier death, with more
" praise. The 23rd of March.

" 'Yours, J. A.'

" All this is the testimony of an adversary, and
" therefore we must allow for some of his words:
" but may be the more certain of the archbishop's
" brave courage, constancy, patience, Christian and
" holy behaviour, being related by one so affected*."

The feelings about his wife which agitated Bainham, and which were so happily removed by his conference with Latimer, might have been expected more or less to affect every one of the martyrs who were bound to earth by this most sacred tie; but this does not appear to have been the case; and not only did many women suffer gloriously and patiently themselves, not only did men who were married willingly resign their wives and families to the care

* Strype's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 551—559. 8vo. 384—390. fol.

of God, but several women were found who seem to have animated their partners to the struggle, as well by their prayers as by their assistance and advice.

Laurence Saunders was born of worshipful parentage, was educated at Eton and King's college, Cambridge, and having taken orders he boldly preached in his parish church of Allhallows, Bread-street, and was consequently confined and detained there for a very considerable time before his martyrdom. (Fox, iii. 113.) "As the said master Saunders "was in prison, straight charge was given to the "keeper that no person should speak with him. "His wife yet came to the prison gate with her "young child in her arms, to visit her husband. "The keeper though for his charge he durst not suf-"fer her to come into the prison, yet did he take the "little babe out of her arms, and brought him unto "his father: Laurence Saunders seeing him rejoiced "greatly, saying that he rejoiced more to have such "a boy, than he should if two thousand pounds "were given him. And unto the standers by, which "praised the goodliness of the child, he said, What "man fearing God, would not lose his life present, "rather than by prolonging it here, he should ad-"judge this boy to be a bastard, his wife a whore, "and himself a whoremonger? Yea if there were no "other cause for which a man of my estate should "lose his life, yet who would not give it to avouch "this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be "lawful and holy?

" I do, good reader, recite this saying, not only " to let thee see what he thought of priests' mar- " riage, but chiefly to let all married couples and " parents learn to bear in their bosoms true affec- " tions: natural, yet seasoned with the true salt of " the Spirit, unfeignedly and thoroughly mortified " to do the natural works and offices of married " couples and parents, so long as with their doing " they may keep Christ with a free confessing faith " in a conscience unfoil: otherwise both they and " their own lives are so to be forsaken, as Christ " required them to be denied, and given in his " cause."

This good man was afterwards condemned to death, and sent to Coventry to be burnt. From the length of time during which he was in prison he had the opportunity of addressing many letters to his friends, particularly to his wife, which are printed in the Acts and Mon. and in the Letters of the Martyrs. Among a vast number of others, the following occurs addressed to his wife, wherein allusion is made to a shirt which seems to have been prepared for his execution. There is no date to it. It is addressed " To his wife and other of his friends."

" Grace and comfort in Christ. Amen. Dear wife, " be merry in the mercies of our Christ, and ye also, " my dear friends: pray for us, every body. We be " shortly to be dispatched hence to our good Christ. " Amen. Amen. Wife, I would you sent me my " shirt, which you know whereunto it is consecrated. " Let it be sewed down on both the sides, and not

" open. O my heavenly Father, look upon me in " the face of thy Christ, or else I shall not be able " to abide thy countenance, such is my filthiness. " He will do so, and therefore I will not be afraid " what sin, death, hell, and damnation can do " against me. Oh wife, always remember the Lord. " God bless you! Yea, he will bless thee, good wife, " and thy poor boy also; only cleave thou unto " him, and he will give thee all things. Pray, pray, " pray." (Fox's Martyrs, iii. 118. Letters of the Martyrs, p. 206.) Tyndall, writing to Frith then in the Tower, says, (Works, p. 453. Fox, ii. 307.) " Fear " not threatening therefore, neither be overcome " with sweet words; with which twain the hypo- " crites shall assail you: neither let the persuasions " of worldly wisdom bear rule in your heart; no, " though they be your friends that counsel you. " Let Bilney be a warning to you. Let not their " visure beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. " He that endureth to the end shall be saved. If " the pain be above your strength, remember, *what-* " *soever ye shall ask in my name I will give it you.* " And pray to your Father in that name, and he " will ease your pain or shorten it. The Lord of " peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you. Amen." And again: " Two have suffered at Antwerp, &c. " See, you are not alone: be cheerful, and remember " that, among the hardhearted in England, there is " a number reserved for grace; for whose sake, if " need be, you must be ready to suffer." He then

gives some account of the printing of Joye's Bible, and ends, "Sir, your wife is well content with the "will of God, and would not for her sake have the "glory of God hindered. William Tyndall."

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

B.C. 55. Julius Cæsar invades Britain.
A.D. 44. Claudius invades Britain.
58. Caractacus captive at Rome.
67. St. Peter and St. Paul put to death at Rome.
80. Conquests of Agricola in Britain.
120. Adrian's wall built.
167-76. King Lucius embraces Christianity.
208. Severus in Britain. The wall between the Forth and Clyde built in the next year.
286. Carausius usurps the government in Britain.
301. Martyrdom of St. Alban.
307. Constantine emperor of Rome.
314 The Council of Arles.
325. The Council of Nice.
347. The Council of Sardica.
359. The Council of Ariminum.
383. Maximus takes the flower of the British forces from England.
416. The Pelagian heresy condemned in Africa.
427. The Romans finally leave Britain.
449. Hengist and Horsa land in England.
457. The kingdom of Kent, the first of the heptarchy, established.
476. Rome taken by the Heruli.
493. St. Patrick, who converted Ireland, dies.
515. The supposed date of king Authur.
560. Gildas, the first English historian, flourished.
582. The kingdom of Mercia, the last of the heptarchy, established.
586. The British church had retired into Wales.
596. Augustin comes to Thanet.
601. The meeting of the Saxon and British churches in Worcestershire.

A. D.

622. Æra of the Hegyra, or flight of Mahomet.
664. The council of Whitby.
678. Sussex, the last of the heptarchy, converted to Christianity.
730. The edict of Leo Isaurus against image worship.
Origin of the civil dominion of the popes.
735. The Venerable Bede dies.
754. The pope reestablished in his temporal power by Pepin.
787. The Danes invade England. Lichfield made an archbishopric. The second council of Nice.
872. Alfred begins his reign.
880. Schism between the Latin and Greek churches.
934. The battle of Burnanburg placed all England under Athelstan.
940. Howel Dha, king of Wales.
996. The publication of Elfric's Homily against Transubstantiation.
1013. Sweno, king of England and Denmark.
1041. Edward the Confessor.
1059. The Waldenses separated from Rome.
1066. Harold II. conquered at Battle.

*Archbishops of Canterbury before the Conquest.*

597. Augustin.
604. Laurence.
619. Mellitus.
624. Justus.
634. Honorius.
654. Adeodatus.
668. Theodore.
693. Birthwald.
731. Tatwine.
735. Nothelm.
742. Cuthbert.
759. Bregwin.
763. Lambrith, or Lambert.
793. Athelard.
804. Wulfred.
830. Theolgild.
830. Ceolnoth.
871. Atheldred.
891. Phlegmund.
923. Athelm.
928. Wulfelm.
941. Odo Severus.
954. Dunstan.
988. Ethelgar.
989. Siric.
996. Aluricius.
1005. Elphege.
1013. Living, or Leovingus.
1020. Agelnoth, or Æthelnot.
1038. Edsine, or Eadsius.
1050. Robert Gemeticensis.
1052. Stigand.

| | Kings of Eng. | Popes. | Abps. of Cant. | Remarkable Events. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1066 | William I. | | | |
| 1070 | | Gregory VII. 1073. | Lanfranc, 1070. | |
| | | | | 79. Doomsday book begun. |
| 1080 | | | | 81. Osmond, bishop of Sarum, frames the Service Book in Usum Sarum. |
| | | Victor III. 1086. | | |
| 1087 | William II. | | | |
| | | Urban II. 1088. | | |
| 1090 | | | | |
| | | | Anselm, 1093. | 95. The first crusade; Peter the Hermit. |
| | | Pascal II. 1099. | | 99. The Knights of St. John instituted. |
| 1100 | Henry I. | | | |
| | | | | 1105. Anselm goes to Rome about investitures. |
| 1110 | | | Rodulph, 1114. | |
| | | Gelasius II. 1118. | | |
| | | Callixtus II. 1119. | | 19. The order of Knights Templars instituted. |
| 1120 | | | W. Corboyl, 1122. | |
| | | Honorius II. 1124. | | |
| 1130 | | Innocent II. 1130. | | |
| 1135 | Stephen. | | | |
| | | | Theobald, 1138. | 37. The Pandects of the Roman law discovered at Amalphi. |
| | | | | 40. Canon law introduced into England. |
| 1140 | | | | William of Malmsbury flourished. |

| | Kings of Eng. | Popes. | Abps. of Cant. | Remarkable Events. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1141 | | Celestin II. 1143. Lucius II. 1144. Eugene III. 1145. | | |
| | | | | 47. Second crusade; St. Bernard. Geoffrey of Monmouth flourished. |
| 1150 | | | | |
| | | Anastasius IV. 1153. | | 51. The canon law collected by Gratian. |
| 1154 | Henry II. | Adrian IV. 1154. | | |
| 1160 | | Alexander III. 1159. | T. Becket, 1162. | 60. Some Germans punished for heresy at Oxford. |
| | | | | 64. Constitutions of Clarendon. |
| 1170 | | | Richard, 1171. | 71. T. Becket murdered.<br>72. Conquest of Ireland.<br>75. Greathead born. |
| 1180 | | Lucius III. 1181. Urban III. 1185. Gregory VIII. 1187. Clement III. 1187. | Baldwin, 1184. | |
| 1189 | Richard I. | | | 89. The third crusade. |
| | | Celestin III. 1191. | Reginald Fitz Jocelin, 1191. | |
| | | Innocent III. 1198. | Hubert Walter, 1193. | |
| 1199 | John. | | | 1200. Mariner's compass used.<br>2. Fourth crusade.<br>4. The inquisition established. |
| | | | Stephen Langton, 1207. | |
| 1210 | | | | 8. London incorporated by charter.<br>10. One of the Albigenses burnt in London.<br>Crusade against them in France. |
| 1214 | | | | |

| | Kings of Eng. | Popes. | Abps. of Cant. | Remarkable Events. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1215 | | | | 15. Magna Charta. |
| 1216 | Henry III. | Honorius III. 1216. | | |
| 1220 | | | | 21. The first mendicants established in Oxford. |
| | | | | 22. A deacon burnt for apostasy. |
| | | Gregory IX. 1227. | | |
| | | | R. Wethershed. 1229. | |
| 1230 | | | | |
| | | | Edmund, 1234. | |
| | | | | 35. Greathead, bishop of Lincoln. |
| 1240 | | | | |
| | | Celestin IV. 1241. | | |
| | | Innocent IV. 1243. | | |
| | | | Boniface, 1245. | |
| | | | | 49. University college, Oxford, founded. |
| 1250 | | Alexander IV. 1254. | | |
| | | | | 59. Matthew Paris ob. |
| 1260 | | Urban IV. 1261. | | |
| | | Clement IV. 1265. | | 65. Knights and burgesses summoned to parliament. |
| 1270 | | Gregory X. 1271. | | |
| 1272 | Edward I. | | Rob. Kilwarby, 1272. | |
| | | Innocent V. 1276. | | |
| | | Adrian V. 76. | | |
| | | John XXI. 76. | | |
| | | Nicholas III. 1277. | | |
| | | | J. Peckham, 1278. | |
| | | | | 79. Statute of Mortmain. |
| 1280 | | Martin IV. 1281. | | |
| | | Honorius IV. 1285. | | 83. Final reduction of Wales. |
| | | | | 84. Roger Bacon ob. |
| | | Nicholas IV. 1288. | | |

| | Kings of Eng. | Popes. | Abps. of Cant. | Remarkable Events. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1290 | | Celestin V. 1294. Boniface VIII. 1294. | Rob. Winchelsey, 1294. | About this time Stamford became an university for a short period. |
| 1300 | | Benedict XI. 1303. Clement V. 1305. | | 1. The barons assert the independence of England in a letter to the pope. |
| 1307 | Edward II. | | | |
| 1310 | | | | 8. The seat of the popes transferred to Avignon. |
| | | John XXII. 1316. | Walter Raynold, 1313. | 12. The order of Knights Templars dissolved. |
| 1320 | | | | |
| 1327 | Edward III. | | Simon Mepham, 1328. | |
| 1330 | | Benedict XII. 1334. | Joseph Stratford, 1333. | |
| 1340 | | Clement VI. 1342. | | 43. The houses of lords and commons distinct. 46. Battle of Cressy. 48. Some Flagellants landed in England, but made no proselytes. |
| | | | Th. Bradwardine, 1349. Simon Islip, 1349. | |
| 1350 | | Innocent VI. 1352. | | 52. Statute of præmunire. Longland's Vision of Pierce Plowman was published about this period. 56. Battle of Poictiers. |
| 1360 | | Urban V. 1362. | | |

| | Kings of Eng. | Popes. | | Abps. of Cant. | Remarkable Events. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1363 | | | | Simon Langham, 1366. Will. Wittlesey, 1368. | |
| | | | | | 69. Tamerlane the Mogul conqueror. |
| 1370 | | Gregory XI. 1370. | | | |
| | | | | Simon Sudbury, 1375. | 71. The parliament petition that secular employments may not be held by churchmen. |
| | | | | | 76. Edw. the black prince dies. |
| 1377 | Richard II. | | | | 77. Wiclif answers before Courtney in St. Paul's. |
| | | 1378. | | | 78. Grand schism of the west. |
| | | Rome. | Avignon. | | |
| 1380 | | Urban VI. | Clement VII. | Will. Courtney, 1381. | 81. Wat the tiler's insurrection; S. Sudbury murdered. |
| | | | | | 83. Cannon first used by the English in defence of Calais. |
| | | | | | 84. Wiclif ob. |
| | | | | | 87. Winchester school founded. |
| | | | | | 88. Commission against the Lollards. |
| 1390 | | 1389. Boniface IX. | | | |
| | | | 1394. Benedict XIII. | | 95. The petition of the Lollards is presented to parliament. |
| | | | | Thomas Arundel, 1396. | |
| 1399 | Henry IV. | | | | |
| | | | | | 1400 Statute against the Lollards. |
| | | | | | 1. William Sawtrey, priest, burnt for heresy. |
| | | 1404. Innocent. VII. | | | |
| | | | | | 7. Bank established at Genoa. |
| | | 1406 Gregory XII. | | | 9. Council of Pisa which deposes Gregory. |
| | | | Pisa. 1409. | | 10. Badby burnt. |
| 1413 | Henry V. | | Alexander V. | Hen. Chichely, 1414. | |
| | | | 1410. John XXIII. | | 14. Council of Constance. |
| | | | | | 15. John Huss burnt. Battle of Agincourt. |
| | | | | | 16. Jerome of Prague burnt. |
| | | Martin V. 1417. | | | 17. Paper made from rags. |
| | | | | | 18. Lord Cobham hanged and burnt. |
| 1422 | Henry VI. | | | | |
| | | | | | 28. Joan of Arc raises the siege of Orleans. |
| | | Eugene IV. 1431. | | | 31. Council of Basil. |
| | | | | | 36. Chevy chase. |

| | Kings of Eng. | Popes. | Abps. of Cant. | Remarkable Events. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | (Felix IV. or V. 1439.) | | |
| 1440 | | | | 40. Printing established by Guttenberg, at Strasburg. |
| | | | | 41. Eton school founded. |
| | | | John Stafford. 1443. | |
| | | | | 44. Pecock, bishop of St. Asaph. |
| | | Nicholas V. 1447. | | |
| 1450 | | | | 50. Pecock, bishop of Chichester. |
| | | | Joseph Kemp, 1452. | 52. The wars of Lancaster and York. |
| | | | | 53. Constantinople taken by the Turks. |
| | | | Thomas Bouchier, 1454. | End of the English government in France. |
| | | Callixtus III. 1455. | | |
| | | Pius II. 1458. | | 58. Pecock deposed. |
| | | | | 59. Engraving on copper invented. |
| 1460 | | | | |
| 1461 | Edward IV. | | | |
| | | Paul II. 1464. | | |
| 1470 | | | | |
| 1471 | Henry VI. restored. | Sixtus IV. 1471. | | |
| 1472 | Edward IV. restored. | | | 73. A press established in England, probably in Westminster Abbey. |
| 1480 | | | | |
| 1483 | Edward V. Richard III. | Innocent VIII. 1484. | | 83. Luther born. |
| 1485 | Henry VII. | | | 85. Battle of Bosworth. |
| | | | John Morton, 1486. | 86. Cape of Good Hope discovered. |
| 1490 | | | | |
| | | | | 91. End of the empire of the Moors in Spain. |
| | | Alexander VI. 1492. | | 92. Discovery of Hispaniola by C. Columbus. |
| | | | | 94. Algebra introduced into Europe. |
| 1500 | | | | 98. Main land of America discovered, and a new passage to India. |
| | | | Henry Dean. 1501. | |
| | | Pius III. 1503. Julius II. 1503. | William Warham, 1503. | |
| | | | | 5. Colet, dean of St. Paul's. |

| Kings of Eng. | Popes. | Abps. of Cant. | Remarkable Events. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1500 Henry VIII. | | | |
| | Leo X. 1513. | | 13. Battle of Flodden Field. |
| | | | 14. Hunne murdered in prison. |
| 1515 | | | |
| | | | 17. Luther preaches against indulgences. |
| | | | 19. First voyage round the world by Magelian. |
| 1520 | | | |
| | | | 21. Henry VIII. declared Defender of the Faith. |
| | Adrian VI. 1522. Clement VII. 1523. | | |
| | | | 24. Sweden and Denmark embrace the protestant faith. |
| 1525 | | | |
| | | | 28. P. Hamilton burnt at St. Andrew's. |
| | | | 29. Trial of the divorce; Wolsey's fall. Diet of Spires; protestants then first so called. |
| 1530 | | | 30. The title of Supreme Head of the church acknowledged by the clergy; diet of Augsburg, and league of Smalcalde. |
| | | | 31. The bishops directed to prepare a new translation of the Bible. |
| | | | 32. Marriage with Anne Boleyn. |
| 1533 | | Thomas Cranmer, 1533. | 33. The divorce pronounced. Elizabeth born. |

| | Kings of Eng. | Popes. | Abps. of Cant. | Remarkable Events. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1534 | | Paul III. 1534. | | 34. The marriage of Henry and Catharine confirmed at Rome. |
| 1535 | | | | 35. Sir T. More and bishop Fisher executed.<br>Visitation of the monasteries.<br>Order of Jesuits founded. |
| | | | | 36. Queen Catharine dies.<br>Queen Anne Boleyn executed.<br>Henry marries Jane Seymour.<br>Articles published by the king.<br>Pilgrimage of grace. |
| | | | | 37. The Institution published.<br>Edward born; Jane dies. |
| | | | | 38. Lambert burnt.<br>Henry excommunicated. |
| | | | | 39. New bishoprics erected by act of parliament.<br>Act of the Six Articles passes.<br>Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's. |
| 1540 | | | | 40. Henry marries Anne of Cleves.<br>Divorced.<br>Cromwell beheaded.<br>Barnes, &c. burnt.<br>Henry marries Cath. Howard. |
| | | | | 41. Cath. Howard beheaded. |
| | | | | 42. Birth of Mary, and death of James V. of Scotland. |
| | | | | 43. Erudition published.<br>Henry marries Catharine Parr.<br>War with France. |
| 1545 | | | | 45. Colleges and chantries given to the king.<br>The council of Trent sits. |
| | | | | 46. Peace with France; cardinal Beaton assassinated. |
| 1547 | Edward VI. Jan. 29. | | | 47. The earl of Surrey executed.<br>Homilies printed. |
| | | | | 48. New communion.<br>Cranmer's Catechism. The Interim published. |
| | | | | 49. Joan Bocher burnt. |
| 1550 | | Julius III. 1550. | | 50. Foreign churches established under A Lasco. |
| | | | | 51. Commission for reforming the ecclesiastical laws. |
| | | | | 52. The Protector executed.<br>Treaty of Passau. |
| | | | | 53. Catechism published; (Ponet's.) |

| | Kings of Eng. | Popes. | Abps. of Cant. | Remarkable Events. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1553 | Mary, July 6. | | | 53. The acts of Edw. VI. repealed. |
| | | | | 54. Wyat executed. |
| | | | | Disputations at Oxford. |
| | | | | Marriage of the queen. |
| 1555 | | Marcellus II. | | 55. Feast of Reconciliation of the |
| | | Paul IV. 1555. | | nation. |
| | | | | Peace of Augsburg. |
| | | | | Latimer and Ridley burnt. |
| | | | Cardinal Pole, 1556. | 56. Cranmer suffers at Oxford. |
| | | | | Bonner's Homilies published. |
| | | | | 57. War with France. |
| 1558 | Elizabeth, Nov. 17. | | | 58. Calais taken. |
| | | | | Mary queen of Scots married to the dauphin. |
| | | | | Revision of the Liturgy. |
| | | Pius IV. 1559. | M. Parker, 1559. | 59. Disputation at Westminster. |
| 1560 | | | | 60. Peace with France and Scotland. |
| | | | | Reformation established in Scotland. |
| | | | | 61. St. Paul's, London, burnt. |
| | | | | 62. Assistance sent to the French protestants. |
| | | | | 63. End of the council of Trent. |
| | | | | Convocation, the Thirty-nine Articles passed. |
| | | | | Plague in England. |
| | | | | 64. 2nd Book of Homilies distributed. |
| | | | | Calvin dies. |
| 1565 | | | | 65. Sampson deprived of the deanery of Christ Church. |
| | | Pius V. 1566. | | 66. Thirty-seven London ministers suspended for the dresses. |
| | | | | The church of Scotland writes to the church of England in favour of toleration. |
| | | | | 67. Schism of the London divines. |
| | | | | Persecutions under the duke of Alva in the Netherlands. |
| | | | | 68. Mary queen of Scots enters England. |
| | | | | 69. The northern rebellion. |
| 1570 | | | | 70. Regent Murray murdered. |
| | | | | Felton affixes the bull to the door of the bishop of London. |
| | | | | 71. The ecclesiastical commission very active. |
| | | Gregory XIII. 1572. | | 72. Presbytery established at Wandsworth. |
| | | | | Massacre of St. Bartholomew. |
| | | | | 74. Prophesyings suppressed in the diocese of Norwich. |
| 1575 | | | Edm. Grindal, 1575. | 75. Two Dutch anabaptists burnt. |
| | | | | 76. Antwerp taken by the Spaniards. |
| | | | | Grindal writes to the queen. |
| | | | | 77. Prophesyings put down. |
| | | | | Grindal sequestered. |
| | | | | Drake sets off from Plymouth. |

| Kings of Eng. | Popes. | Abps. of Cant. | Remarkable Events. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Socinus F. publishes his opinions in Poland, about this time. |
| 1579 | | | 79. Hamont burnt in Norwich for impiety. Rebellion in Ireland. |
| 1580 | | | 80. Campian and Persons come to England. Drake returns. |
| | | | 81. The parliament petitions the queen for reformation in the church. |
| | | | Declaration of the independence of Holland. |
| | | | 82. Reformation in the calendar by the pope. Grindal restored. |
| | | | 83. Chopping and Thacker executed. |
| | | | 84. First English settlements in North America. |
| | | John Whitgift, 1583. | The prince of Orange shot. |
| | | | Association formed to preserve the life of Elizabeth. |
| 1585 | Sixtus V. 1585. | | 85. Elizabeth protectress of the Netherlands. |
| | | | 86. Leicester commands in Holland. Trial of Mary queen of Scots. |
| | | | 87. Mary queen of Scots executed. |
| | | | 88. Elizabeth excommunicated. The armada sails from the Tagus. |
| | | | F. Ket burnt for a heretic. |
| | | | 89. Marriage of James with Anne of Denmark. |
| 1590 | Urban VII. Gregory XIV. 1590. | | |
| | Innocent IX. 1591. | | 91. Trinity college, Dublin, founded. Cartwright before the ecclesiastical commission. |
| | Clement VIII. 1592. | | |
| | | | 93. Barrow, &c. executed. Plague in London. |
| | | | 94. Cardinal Allen dies in Rome. |
| 1595 | | | 95. Lambeth Articles. |
| | | | 98. Edict of Nantes. Tyrone's Rebellion. |
| 1600 | | | 1600. The pope grants a pardon to the rebels in Ireland as in the case of a crusade. East India Company established. |
| | | | 1. Essex executed. Spaniards land in Ireland. |
| | | | 3. Submission of Tyrone. |

| | Kings of Eng. | Popes. | Abps. of Cant. | Remarkable Events. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1603 | James I. March 24. | | | 3. Coronation of James and Anne. |
| | | | Richard Bancroft, 1604. | 4. Conference at Hampton Court. |
| 1605 | | Leo XI. 1605. Paul V. 1605. | | 5. Convocation assemble. Powder Plot. |
| | | | | 6. Garnett executed. Brief against the oath of allegiance. |
| | | | | 7. Brief, confirmatory of the last. |
| | | | | 9. College at Chelsea founded. Arminius dies. |
| 1610 | | | George Abbot, April 9, 1610. | 10. Moors expelled from Spain. Henry IV. stabbed by Ravaillac. |
| | | | | 11. Translation of the Bible published. Legate burnt in Smithfield, and Whightman at Lichfield. |
| | | | | 12. Charter House founded. Prince Henry dies. |
| | | | | 13. Wadham college founded. Elizabeth married to the elector palatine. |
| | | | | 14. Logarithms invented. |
| 1615 | | | | |
| | | | | 18. Beginning of the thirty years' war. King's declaration for liberty on the Lord's day. Synod of Dort begins. |
| | | | | 19. Queen Anne dies. Synod of Dort ends. Discovery of the circulation of the blood. |
| 1620 | | | | 20. Battle of Prague. |
| | | Gregory XV. 1621. | | |
| | | | | 22. Proclamation for releasing popish recusants. King's letter about preaching. |
| | | Urban VIII. 1623. | | 23. Charles and Buckingham go to Spain. |
| 1625 | | | | |

| | Kings of Eng. | Popes. | Abps. of Cant. | Remarkable Events. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1625 | Charles I. March 27. | | | |
| | | | | 26. Letter to the clergy in favour of loans. |
| | | | | 27. Abbot suspended. |
| | | | | 28. Petition of rights presented. Murder of the duke of Buckingham. |
| | | | | 29. Charles's instructions to the bishops. |
| 1630 | | | | 30. Laud, chancellor of Oxford. |
| | | | William Laud. 1633. | 33. Charles crowned at Edinburgh. Book of Sports published. |
| 1635 | | | | 35. The Thirty-nine Articles received by the church of Ireland. Juxton, lord treasurer. |
| | | | | 36. Writs for ship money issued. |
| | | | | 37. Tumult in Edinburgh about the Liturgy. |
| | | | | 38. General assembly at Glasgow. |
| | | | | 39. Peace with Scotland. |
| 1640 | | | | 40. The parliament meet April 3, dissolved May 5. The long parliament meet Nov. 3. |
| | | | | 41. Lord Strafford executed. Protestation of the bishops. |
| | | | | 42. Bishops deprived of their votes. Aug. 25. The king's standard raised. |
| | | | | 43. Assembly of divines meet. The covenant taken by the houses. |
| | | Innocent X. 1644. | | 44. Surrender of York. |
| 1645 | | | | 45. Laud beheaded. Directory introduced. |
| | | | | 46. The king surrenders. |
| | | | | 47. The king seized by Joyce. |
| | | | | 48. Cromwell defeats the Scotch at Preston. Conference in the Isle of Wight. |
| 1649 | Charles I. executed. | | | |

| | Kings of Eng. | Popes. | Abps. of Cant. | Remarkable Events. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 49. Cromwell goes to Ireland. |
| 1650 | | | | 50. Charles II. lands in Scotland. |
| | | | | 51. Charles II. crowned at Scone. Battle of Worcester, Sept. 3. |
| 1653 | Cromwell, Protector, Dec. 16. | | | 53. Cromwell dissolves the parliament. |
| | | | | 54. Triers appointed. |
| 1655 | | Alexander VII. 1655. | | 55. Archbishop Usher dies. |
| | | | | 57. Inauguration of Cromwell. |
| 1658 | Richard Cromwell, Sept. 3. | | | |
| 1660 | Charles II. restored. | | Will. Juxton. 1660. | 60. Trial and execution of the regicides. |
| | | | | 61. Savoy conference. |
| | | | | 62. Episcopacy restored in Scotland. Nonconformist ministers ejected. |
| | | | Gilbert Sheldon. 1663. | 63. Lord Bristol exhibits articles against lord Clarendon. |
| | | | | 64. The duke of York takes a fleet of Dutch merchantmen. |
| 1665 | | | | 65. Plague in London. Parliament meet at Oxford. |
| | | | | 66. The fire of London. The covenanters beaten by Dalziel. |
| | | Clement IX. 1667. | | 67. The Dutch enter the Medway. Banishment of lord Clarendon. |
| | | | | 68. Bridgman's attempt at a comprehension. |
| 1670 | | Clement X. 1670. | | 70. The duchess of Portsmouth came over with the duchess of Orleans. |
| | | | | 71. Duchess of York dies. |
| | | | | 72. The exchequer shut. The De Witts put to death in Holland. |
| | | | | 73. Test act passes. James marries the princess of Modena. |
| 1675 | | | | |

| | Kings of Eng. | Popes. | Abps. of Cant. | Remarkable Events. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1676 | | Innocent XI. 1676. | | |
| | | | Will. Sancroft. 1677. | |
| | | | | 78. Oates's plot. |
| | | | | 79. Archbishop Sharp murdered. Dangerfield's plot. Habeas Corpus passed. |
| 1680 | | | | 80. Lord Stafford executed. |
| | | | | 83. Rye-house plot. Lord Russell beheaded. The charter of the city of London made void. |
| 1685 | James II. Feb. 6. | | | 85. Revocation of the edict of Nantes. |
| 1689 | William and Mary. | Alexander VIII. 1689. | | 89. Episcopacy abolished in Scotland. |
| 1690 | | | | |
| | | Innocent XII. 1691. | John Tillotson. 1691. | |

# TABLE I.] Anglo-Saxon and Danish Kings of England.

1. Egbert, surnamed the Great, first King of all England, 827; † 836.

2. Ethelwolf, King, 836; † 857.

3. Ethelbald, King, 857; † 860.

4. Ethelbert, King, 860; † 866.

5. Ethelred I., King, 866; † 871.

6. Alfred, called the Great, King, 871; † 901.

7. Edward, called the Ancient, King, 901; † 925.

8. Athelstan, King, 925; † 941.

9. Edmund I., King, 941; † 946.

10. Edred, King, 946; † 955.

11. Edwy, King, 955; † 957.

12. Edgar, called the Pacific, King, 957; † 975.

13. Edward II., surnamed the Martyr, King, 975; assassinated, 978.

14 and 16. Ethelred II., King, 978; deposed, 1013; re-established, 1014; † 1016.

17. Edmund II., surnamed Ironside, King, 1016; † 1017.

*Edward*, † 1057.

*Edgar Atheling*.

* * *

*Godwin*, Count of Kent, † 1053.

22. Harold II., King of England, 1066; defeated and killed by *William the Conqueror*, 1066.

21. Edward III., surnamed the Confessor, King, 1042; † 1066

* * *

*Harold Blaatand*, King of Denmark.

15. Sweno, King of England and of Denmark, 1013; † 1014.

18. Canute, called the Great, King of England and of Denmark, 1017; † 1036.

19. Harold I., King of England, 1036; † 1039.

20. Hardiknute, King of England and of Denmark, 1039; † 1041.

TABLE II.] KINGS OF ENGLAND OF THE NORMAN RACE.

1. WILLIAM I., surnamed THE CONQUEROR, Duke of Normandy, King of England, 1066; † 1087.

2. WILLIAM II., surnamed RUFUS, King, 1087; † 1100.

3. HENRY I., surnamed BEAUCLERC, King, 1100; † 1135.

*Adelaide*, † 1137; married *Stephen*, Count of Blois.

*Matilda*, declared Heiress of the throne, 1127; † 1186; married, 1. HENRY V., Emperor of Germany, † 1125; 2. *Geofrey Plantagenet*, Count of Anjou, 1127; FOUNDER of the house of PLANTAGENET.

(See TABLE III.)

4. STEPHEN, King, 1135; † 1154

*Matilda*, daughter of King Henry I., (see TABLE II.) declared heiress of the throne of England, 1127; † 1167; married *Geoffrey*, surnamed *Plantagenet*, Count of Anjou; † 1151.

5. HENRY II., King, 1154; † 1189; married *Eleanor* of Poitou, divorced by Louis VII., and Heiress of Poitou and Gascony, 1152.

6. RICHARD I., called CŒUR DE LION, King, 1189; † 1199.

7. JOHN, called LACK-LAND, King, 1199; † 1216.

8. HENRY III., King, 1216; † 1272.

*Richard*, elected Emperor of Germany, 1257; † 1272.

9. EDWARD I., surnamed LONGSHANKS, King, 1272; † 1307.

*Edmund*, called *the Humpbacked*, Earl of Lancaster, pret. eldest son, † 1296.

10. EDWARD II., King, 1307; † 1327; married *Isabella*, daughter of Philip the Fair, King of France.

*Henry*, Earl of Lancaster, † 1345.

11. EDWARD III., King, 1327; † 1377.

*Henry*, surnamed *Grismond*, Earl of Lancaster, † 1361.

*Edward the Black*, Prince of Wales, † 1376.

*William Lionel*, Duke of Clarence, † 1368

*John of Gaunt*, Duke of Lancaster, † 1399; married *Blanche*, first Heiress of the rights of Lancaster.

*Edmund*, Duke of York, † 1402.

*Blanche*, first Heiress of the rights of Lancaster, † 1369; married *John of Gaunt*, third son of Edward III., FOUNDER of the RED ROSE.

12. RICHARD II., King, 1377; deposed 1399; † 1400.

*Philippa of Clarence*, married *Edmund Mortimer*, 1368.

13. HENRY IV., King, 1399; † 1413.

*John Beaufort*, natural son, adopted; † 1410.

*Richard*, Earl of Cambridge, † 1415; married *Anne Mortimer*, first Heiress of the rights of Lionel, Duke of Clarence.

*Roger Mortimer*, declared Heir to the crown, 1385; † 1399.

14. HENRY V., King, 1413, † 1422; married *Catharine of France*, daughter of Charles VI.

*John Beaufort*, Duke of Somerset, † 1444.

*Richard*, Duke of York, Protector 1455; † 1460.

*Ann Mortimer*, first Heiress of the rights of Lionel; married *Richard*, Earl of Cambridge, son of Edmund Duke of York, and grandson of King Edward III. FOUNDER of the WHITE ROSE.

15. HENRY VI., King of England and France, 1422; killed 1472.

*Margaret Beaufort*, † 1509, second Heiress of the rights of Lancaster; married *Edmund Tudor*, Earl of Richmond, FOUNDER of the house of Tudor. (See TABLE IV.)

16. EDWARD IV., King, 1461, and 1472; † 1483.

18. RICHARD III., King, 1483; killed at the battle of Bosworth, 1485.

17. EDWARD V., King, 1483; killed 1483.

*Elizabeth*, second Heiress of the rights of Lionel, Duke of Clarence; married Henry VII., King of England. (See TABLE IV.)

TABLE IV.] KINGS OF ENGLAND OF THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.

*Margaret Beaufort*, second Heiress of the rights of Lancaster, or of the Red Rose, (see TABLE III.) † 1509; married Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, son of Owen Tudor and of Queen Catharine of Valois, widow of King Henry V.

19. HENRY VII, surnamed TUDOR, King, after the victory of Bosworth, 1485; † 1509; married *Elizabeth*, daughter of King Edward IV., second Heiress of the rights of York, or of the White Rose, 1486. (See TABLE III.)

*Arthur*, Prince of Wales, † 1502; married *Catharine* of *Arragon*.

*Margaret*, born 1489; married *James IV.* Stuart King of Scotland, FOUNDER of the house of STUART. (See TABLE V.)

20. HENRY VIII., born 1495; King, 1509; † 1547; married, 1. *Catharine* of *Arragon*, daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic, and widow of his brother, 1509; divorced, 1533; 2. *Anne Boleyn*, 1533; beheaded, 1536; 3. *Jane Seymour*, 1536; † in child-birth, 1537.

*Mary*, born 1498; † 1533; married, 1. *Louis XII.* King of France, 1514; † 1515; 2. *Charles Brandon*, Duke of Suffolk, 1517.

*Frances Brandon*, † 1563; married *Henry Grey*, Marquis of Dorset, Duke of Suffolk, beheaded 1554.

*Jane Grey*, born 1537; proclaimed Queen, 1553; beheaded, 1554; married, 1553, *Guilford Dudley*, son of John, Duke of Northumberland; beheaded, 1554.

22. MARY, born 1516; Queen, 1553; † 1558; married *Philip II.*, King of Spain, 1554.

23. ELIZABETH, born 1533; Queen, 1558; † 1603.

21. EDWARD VI., born 1537; King, 1547; † 1553.

*Margaret Tudor*, eldest daughter of King Henry VII., (see TABLE IV.) † 1539; married *James IV.*, King of Scotland, of the house of Stuart, 1503; † 1513.

*James V.*, King of Scotland, † 1542; married, 1. *Magdalen*, daughter of Francis I., King of France, 1536; † 1537; 2. *Mary of Lorraine*, daughter of Claud, Duke of Guise, 1538; † 1560.

*Mary Stuart*, born 1542; Queen of Scotland, 1542; of France, 1559; beheaded, 1587; married, 1. *Francis II.*, King of France, 1559; † 1560; 2. *Henry Stuart*, Lord Darnley, 1564; assassinated, 1567.

24. JAMES I. (VI.) born 1566; King of Scotland, 1567; of England, 1603; takes the title of King of Great Britain, 1604; † 1625; married *Anne of Denmark*, † 1619.

*Elizabeth*, born 1596; † 1661; married *Frederic V.*, Elector Palatine.

25. CHARLES I., born 1600; King of Great Britain, 1625; beheaded 30th January, 1649, old style; married *Henrietta-Maria*, daughter of Henry IV., King of France, 1625; † 1669.

*Sophia*, born 1630; declared Heiress to the throne of England, 1701; † 18th June, 1714; married *Ernest-Augustus*, first Elector of Hanover, 1658; FOUNDER of the house of HANOVER.

(See TABLE VI.)

26. CHARLES II., born 1630; King of Great Britain, proclaimed 18th May, 1660; † 1685; married *Catharine* daughter of John IV., King of Portugal.

*Mary*, born 1631; † 1661; married *William II.*, Prince of Orange, 1641.

27. JAMES II., born 1633; King, 1685; dethroned, 1689; † 1701; married, 1. *Anne Hyde*, 1660; † 1671; 2. *Mary of Modena*, 1673.

*Henrietta-Maria*, born 1644; † 1670; married *Philip I.*, Duke of Orleans, 1661.

28. WILLIAM III., Prince of Orange, born 1650; proclaimed King of Great Britain with his consort, 1689; † 1702; married MARY, daughter of King James II., 1677; † 1695.

28. MARY, born 1662, proclaimed Queen with her husband, 1689; † 1695; mar. WILLIAM III., Prince of Orange, 1677; † 1702.

29. ANNE, born 1665; Queen, 1702; † 12th August, 1714; married *George*, Pr. of Denmark, 1683; † 1708;

*James-Edward-Francis*, Pretender.

*Sophia*, daughter of Frederic V., Elector Palatine, and of Elizabeth of England, (see TABLE V.) born 1630; declared Heiress to the throne of England, 1701; † 18th June, 1714; married *Ernest-Augustus*, first Elector of Hanover, 1658; † 1698.

30. GEORGE I., born 1660; Elector, 1698; King of Great Britain, 1714; † 1727; married *Sophia-Dorothea*, Princess of Brunswick-Zell, 1658; † 1726.

31. GEORGE II., born 1683; King, 1727; † 1760; married, *Caroline-Wilhelmina*, Princess of Brandenburg-Anspach, 1705; † 1737.

*Frederick-Lewis*, born 1707; Prince of Wales, 1727; † 1751; married *Augusta*, Princess of Saxe-Gotha, 1736; † 1772.

*William-Augustus*, Duke of Cumberland, born 1721; † 1765.

*Augusta-Frederica*, born 1737; † 1808; married *Charles-William-Ferdinand*, hereditary Prince of Brunswick, 1764; reigning Duke, 1780; † 1806.

32. GEORGE III., born 1738; King, 1760; † 1820; married *Sophia-Charlotte*, Princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, 1761; † 1818.

*William-Henry*, Duke of Gloucester, born 1743; † 1805; married *Mary*, daughter of Edward Walpole, 1766; † 1807.

*Henry-Frederick*, Duke of Cumberland, born 1746: † 1790; married *Anne*, daughter of Simon Luttrell, Earl of Carhampton, 1771; † 1787.

*Sophia-Matilda*, born 1773.

*William-Frederick*, Duke of Gloucester, born 1776; married M..., daughter of George III., 1816.

33. GEORGE IV. b. 1762; King, 1820; † June 26, 1830; m. *Caroline-Amelia*, Princess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, 1795; † 1821.

*Frederic*, D. of York, born 1763; † 1827; married *Frederica*, daughter of Frederic William II., King of Prussia, 1791; † 1820.

34. WILLIAM IV. William Henry Duke of Clarence born 1765; mar. *Adelaide*, daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, 1818; King, 1830.

*Charlotte-Augusta-Matilda*, b. 1766; † 1828; married Frederick Duke of Wirtemberg 1797, King of Wirtemberg 1806.

*Edward-Augustus* D. of Kent, born 1767; † 1820; married *Victoria* Princess of Saxe-Coburg, 1818, widow of the prince of Leiningen.

*Augusta-Sophia*, b. 1768.

*Elizabeth* b. 1770, married Augustus Frederick, Prince of Hesse-Homburg 1818.

*Ernest-Augustus*, Duke of Cumberland, born 1771; married *Frederica-Caroline-Sophia*, daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and widow of the Prince of Salms, 1815.

*Augustus-Frederick*, Duke of Sussex, b. 1773; married Lady *Augusta-Murray*, 1793. The marriage annulled.

*Adolphus-Frederick*, D. of Cambridge, born 1774; married *Caroline* Princess of Hesse-Cassel, 1818.

*Mary*, b. 1776; m. the Duke of Gloucester, 1816.

*Sophia*, b. 1777.

*Amelia*, b. 1783, † 1811.

*Charlotte-Augusta-Caroline*, b. 1796; † Nov. 6, 1817, mar. 1816, Leopold - George, b. 1790, Pr. of Saxe-Cobourg. King of Belgium, 1832.

*Alexandrina-Victoria*, born 24th May, 1819.

*George-Frederick*, born 1819.

*George-Augustus*, b. 1794.

*Matilda-Charlotte*, b. 1801.

*George-William*, b. 1819.

*Augusta-Caroline*, b. 1822.

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## ERRATA.

Vol. I. p. 7. l. 9. Ariminium *read* Ariminum
15. l. 6. } Wilfred *read* Wilfrid.
16. l. 10. }
54. title A. D. 1109. *read* A. D. 1100.
56. l. 15. by degrees, too *read* by degrees too,
258. l. 31. direected *read* directed
355. l. 16. end *read* end.
359. l. 8. Becon and Burnet; *read* and Becon; Burnet
464. l. 15. insert §. 464.
474. l. 28. Hatlestone *read* Harleston
§. 113. b. *add*, The statute in question stands in the Statute Book, and is not repealed the next year.

Vol. II. p. 200. l. 7. Dalben *read* Dolben
252. l. 18. governors immediate *read* immediate governors